DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 433 289 SO 031 160

AUTHOR	Mukai, Gary; Moore, Carey; Young, Jocelyn; Cheng, Amy; Fairbrother, Greg
TITLE	Understanding China in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region. Part I, U.S. and Japanese Relations with China: Case Studies of Cooperation and Competition.
INSTITUTION	Stanford Univ., CA. Stanford Program on International and Cross Cultural Education.
SPONS AGENCY	Consulate of Japan, San Francisco, CA.; United States-Japan Foundation.
PUB DATE	1995-00-00
NOTE	262p.; For part II and III of the series, see SO 031 161-162. Additional funding for this project was also provided by the Stanford East Asia National Resource Center.
AVAILABLE FROM	Asia/Pacific Project, Stanford Program on International and Cross Cultural Education, Institute for International Studies, Littlefield Center Room 14, 300 Lasuen Street, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5013; Tel: 800-578-1114 (Toll Free).
PUB TYPE	Guides - Classroom - Teacher (052)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Area Studies; Asian History; Asian Studies; Chinese Culture; *Economic Climate; Foreign Countries; *Foreign Policy; Global Education; *International Relations; International Studies; Japanese Culture; Multicultural Education; Non Western Civilization; *Political Attitudes; Secondary Education; Social Studies; *World Affairs
IDENTIFIERS	Asia Pacific Region; *China; Japan; United States

ABSTRACT

This curriculum unit is part one of a three-part series. The unit introduces students to policy options for U.S. and Japanese relations with China at the beginning of the 21st century. By identifying and examining these options, students gain an awareness of U.S., Japanese, and Chinese perspectives on political, economic, and security issues. Provided is a rationale and introduction to the lessons, along with unit goals, materials, time required, suggested sequence of activities, small group roles, subjects, equipment needed, icons, and policy study references. Lessons included in the unit are: (1) "Historical Legacies"; (2) "China's Political Situation"; (3) "China's Economy in Transition"; (4) "U.S.-Sino Relations: With a Focus on Human Rights"; (5) "SINO-Japanese Relations: With a Focus on Security Issues in the South China Sea"; and (6) "Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation." Handouts and primary source documents have been provided with each lesson to present students with a range of perspectives on the topic being studied. Contains a list of references for each section. (LB)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 433 289

UNDERSTANDING CHINA IN THE 21ST CENTURY:

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SECURITY ISSUES IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION

PART I

U.S. AND JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH CHINA: CASE STUDIES OF COOPERATION AND COMPETITION

Developed by Gary Mukai
Carey Moore and Jocelyn Young
with contributions from Amy Cheng and Greg Fairbrother

Copyright © 1995
by the Leland Stanford Junior University Board of Trustees
Permission is given to educators to reproduce handouts for classroom use only.

For further information contact:
The Asia/Pacific Project, SPICE
Institute for International Studies (IIS)
Littlefield Center, Room 14, Stanford University, 300 Lasuen Street,
Stanford, CA 94305-5013
Tel: (800) 578-1114
Fax: (415) 723-6784
Email: SPICE.sales@Forsythe.Stanford.Edu

SO 031 160

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND
DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL IN
MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Gary Mukai

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

2B

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The principal authors of this curriculum unit were Gary Mukai, Asia/Pacific Project Director, SPICE; Carey Moore, Asia/Pacific Project Research Assistant; and Jocelyn Young, Asia/Pacific Project–China Assistant. Contributing authors were Amy Cheng, graduate student, Center for East Asian Studies, and Greg Fairbrother, graduate student, School of Education, Stanford University.

We express grateful acknowledgment to the principal advisor of this unit, Jane Boston, SPICE Director, whose leadership and constructive advice guided the development of this unit.

We are deeply indebted to the principal investigator for this unit, Professor Daniel Okimoto (Political Science), Co-Director, Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University. Professor Okimoto's expertise in U.S. and Japanese relations with Asia, his commitment to improving U.S. and Japanese relations with Asia, and his personal experiences related to the topic of this curriculum unit provided the guidance, inspiration, and vision for this unit.

Special appreciation is extended to Professor Lawrence Lau (Economics), Co-Director, Asia/Pacific Research Center; and Professor Michel Oksenberg, Senior Fellow, Asia/Pacific Research Center, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University, for their generous advice and support.

Much gratitude is extended to Dr. Walter Falcon, Director; Nancy Okimoto, Deputy Director; Evelyn Kelsey, Associate Director for External Affairs; and Jeff Wachtel, Associate Director for Academic Affairs, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University, for their support of SPICE curriculum development and their administrative leadership.

The following Stanford faculty members and scholars provided invaluable information and advice, as well as special insights from their particular areas of expertise: Professor Masahiko Aoki (Economics); Professor Harumi Befu (Anthropology); Professor Peter Duus (History); Dr. Theodore Foss (Assistant Director, Center for East Asian Studies); Dr. Tetsuya Kataoka (Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institute); Professor James Ketelaar (History); Thomas Pixley (Program Coordinator, Asia/Pacific Research Center), Dr. James Raphael (Research Director, Asia/Pacific Research Center), Professor Thomas Rohlen (Education), and Helen Young (Center for East Asian Studies).

Special appreciation is extended to Professor Michael Everson (Education), University of Iowa, and Professor Kevin O'Brien (Political Science), Ohio State University, for their extensive reviews of the unit.

This curriculum unit references policy studies from the following organizations: The Asia Society, New York, New York; Gaston Sigur Center for East Asian Studies, George Washington University, Washington, D.C.; and the Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, Stanford, California.

Many people commented on the lessons in this curriculum unit. These educators are affiliated with the following organizations or schools: American Forum; Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University; California Council for the Social Studies; California International Studies Project, Stanford University; Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University; Committee for Teaching about Asia; Consortium for Teaching about Asia and the Pacific in the Schools (CTAPS), East-West Center, Hawaii; National Council for the Social Studies; National Precollegiate Japan Projects Network; and the School of Education, Stanford University.

Special appreciation is extended to Jay Harris, who served as a consultant and reviewer of this curriculum unit, and provided invaluable insight on the unit's content as well as pedagogy. The following educators provided extensive comments on the curriculum unit: Lori Ackerman, Fredericktown High School, Fredericktown, Ohio; Victoria Anderson, Norte Vista High School, Riverside, California; Richard Bartnik, Goodwill High School, Victorville, California; Doris Berdanier, Lexington High School, Lexington, Ohio; Karen Berry, Etiwanda High School, Etiwanda, California; Chris Brown, Chaffey High School, Ontario, California; Ray Brown, Serrano High School, Phelan, California; Mason Chan, Citrus High School, Fontana, California; Tom Determan, The Forum, Dubuque, Iowa; Mike Fehn, Alta Loma High School, Alta Loma, California; Kathy Finch, Valley View High School, Moreno Valley, California; Fred Franke, Hesperia High School, Hesperia, California; Sofi Frankowski, Cupertino High School, Cupertino, California; Robin Gass, Valley View High School, Ontario, California; Daren Gilbert, Chaffey High School, Ontario, California; Yvonne Gonzales, Ramona High School, Riverside, California; Mary Kay Hedlund, Ontario High School, Ontario, California; Dan Hele, Etiwanda High School, Etiwanda, California; Lyle Hendricks, Governor Wallace Rider Farrington High School, Honolulu, Hawaii; Peg Hill, San Bernadino County Superintendent of Schools, San Bernadino, California; Jane Kilthau, Commack High School, Commack, New York; Scott Klemm, Colton High School, Colton, California; Marcia Lefebvre, Pacific High School, San Bernadino, California; Debbie Lorenz, Montclair High School, Montclair, California; Cathy McDougall, Montclair High School, Montclair, California; Eddington Mduba, Rancho Verde High School, Moreno Valley, California; James Norris, Linden–McKinley High School, Columbus, Ohio; Chris Perkins, Rancho Cucamonga High School, Ontario, California; Marjorie Sabnis, International Poly High School, Claremont, California; Jerry Snodgress, Slover Mountain High School, Colton, California; Dave Stauffer, Ontario High School, Ontario, California; Dave Tennant, Alta Loma High School, Alta Loma, California; Rose Ann Vasquez, Upland High School, Upland, California; Cathy Wedel, Norte Vista High School, Riverside, California; Holly Wiesmann, Colton High School, Colton, California; Merianne Ybarra, Valley View High School, Ontario, California.

Much gratitude is extended to Dr. Ronald Herring (Executive Director, California International Studies Project, School of Education, Stanford University); Dr. Duarte Silva (Executive Director, California Foreign Language Project, School of Education, Stanford University); and Steven Suda (Director, Asian Operations, Development Office, Stanford University) for their continual support.

Much appreciation is extended to the following staff members of SPICE for their valuable advice and assistance: Patricia Cruz, Robin Miyahara, Lucía Nuñez, and Tuckie Yirchott.

Special thanks to the following graduate students in the Center for East Asian Studies, Stanford University, for their contributions: Jennifer Deming, Mari Katsunuma, Lorelei Kelly, Kim Tomsen, Daishi Torii, and Suefen Tsai.

The curriculum unit cover was designed by Richard Sakai, Y Design, San Jose, California.

Special appreciation is extended to Mary Dern Walker for her editorial work and advice; Russ Beebe for formatting the curriculum unit as well as for assisting with the graphic

layout; and to Rick Zeeb for developing the maps contained in this curriculum unit. Special thanks to Patricia Cruz for handling the production of this curriculum unit.

"Come Sunday, June 4, 1989" from the CD, Tiananmen! © 1992 Zhang Music ASCAP, by Jon Jang and the Pan Asian Arkestra, was made available under special license from Jon Jang Performances, and courtesy of Zhang Music Publishing, ASCAP. We extend our heartfelt gratitude to Jon Jang for allowing Jocelyn Young to interview him. You may order Jon Jang's CD, Tiananmen!, including the curriculum selection, "Come Sunday, June 4, 1989," for $21.99 including shipping and handling. Send your check or money order to Sphere Marketing & Distribution, Building 80, Room 2A, JFK International Airport, Jamaica, NY 11430, or phone (718) 657-6220.

Thanks are extended also to Kim Cheung, Boeing Commercial Airplane Group, for permission to use the graphs, "Mode of Transport Development: Asian Countries" and "Use of Transport by Shanghai Residents"; and to Min Soo Sul for his support.

This curriculum unit was made possible through the generous support of The United States–Japan Foundation. Addition funding was provided by the Consulate General of Japan in San Francisco; Institute for International Studies, Stanford University; Japan Fund, Stanford University; and the Stanford East Asia National Resource Center (HEA Title VI).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

unit introduction

UNDERSTANDING CHINA IN THE 21ST CENTURY: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SECURITY ISSUES IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION
U.S. and Japanese Relations With China:
Case Studies of Competition and Cooperation 1

Rationale and Introduction to Lessons 1

Unit Goals 4

Materials 5

Time, Suggested Sequence of Activities 5

Small Group Roles 6

Subjects 6

Equipment 6

Icons 7

Policy Study References 7

lesson one

HISTORICAL LEGACIES 9
Transparency
    Historical Map of Japan's Presence in China, 1930s 17
Script #1
    Speech By Prince Fumimaro Konoye, Premier of Japan, September 1937 18
Script #2
    Japan—The International Culprit, September 1937 19
Transparency
    Japan Can Be Stopped!, 1937 20
Transparency
    This Is Bubble Gum's War in China, 1937 21
Handout #1
    Historian's Notebook 22
For the Teacher
    Teacher's Guide to the "Horrors of War" Trading Cards 23
Handout #2
    The Past Not Forgotten 25
Handout #3
    Ogawa Dismisses Textbook Attacks 27

Handout #4
    Sino–Japanese Relations Are Troubled As Peking Objects to Textbook Revisions 28
Transparency
    Textbook Controversy 30
Handout #5
    Statement Calls for "Quelling the Riot" 31
Handout #6
    Uprising in China Crushed by Troops: Army Mows Down Hundreds 32
Transparency
    China's Use of Force Deplored by Uno 36
Handout #7
    Follow-Up and/or Homework Activities 37

lesson two

CHINA'S POLITICAL SITUATION 41
Readers' Theater List of Characters 46
Readers' Theater: Part 1 47
Readers' Theater: Part 2 63
Handout #1
    Journalist's Notebook 76
Handout #2
    Personal Background Sheet for Masa and Robin 77
Handout #3
    Personal Background Sheet for Chinese Characters in the Readers' Theater 78

lesson three

CHINA'S ECONOMY IN TRANSITION 79
Student Reading
    China's Economy in Transition 84
Handouts #1–15
    Visual Images of China's Economy in Transition 90
Nike Departmental Brief
    Technology Department 111
Nike Departmental Brief
    Labor Department 114
Nike Departmental Brief
    Marketing Department 118
Nike Departmental Brief
    Supplies Department 123
Nike Departmental Brief
    Department of Government Relations and Regulations 125

Nike Departmental Brief
Department of Company Ethics 130
Nike Departmental Brief
Infrastructure Department 135

lesson four

U.S.–SINO RELATIONS: WITH A FOCUS ON HUMAN RIGHTS 139
Activity 4A
International Voices 142
Activity 4A
Resource Card 144
Activity 4A
Value Cards 147
Transparency 4A
Dictionary Definitions 148
Handout 4B
Values Survey 149
Activity 4B
Personal Voices 150
Activity 4B
Resource Card (1) 152
Activity 4B
Resource Card (2) 152
Activity 4B
Activity Card 154
Activity 4C
Asian-American Voices 158
Activity 4C
Resource Card 160
Activity 4C
Activity Card 162
Activity 4D
Voices from the Media 163
Activity 4D
Resource Card 164
Activity 4D
Activity Card 165
Activity 4E
Governmental Voices 166
Activity 4E
Resource Card A (United States) 168
Activity 4E
Resource Card B (People's Republic of China) 170
Activity 4E
Activity Card 1
Group A, Group B, and Talk Show Host(s) 172
Activity 4E
Activity Card 2 173

Activity 4E
    Activity Card 3 174
Activity 4E
    Name Tags 175

lesson five

SINO–JAPANESE RELATIONS:
    WITH A FOCUS ON SECURITY ISSUES IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA 177
Handout #1
    Japan's Policy Toward China 181
Handout #2
    The Disputed Territories in the South China Sea 182
Handout #3
    Recording Sheet for Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea Summit 186
Group Information Sheet #1
    China's View 189
Group Information Sheet #2
    The United States' View 191
Group Information Sheet #3
    Japan's View 193
Group Information Sheet #4
    Indonesia's View 195
Group Information Sheet #5
    Brunei's View 197
Group Information Sheet #6
    Malaysia's View 199
Group Information Sheet #7
    Philippines' View 201
Group Information Sheet #8
    Taiwan's View 203
Group Information Sheet #9
    Vietnam's View 205

lesson six

ASIA–PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION 207
Transparency
    Overview of Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation 211
Transparency
    Map of the Asia/Pacific Region 212
For the Teacher
    Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation 213
Working Group #1
    Human Resources Development 214

Working Group #2
Tourism 216
Working Group #3
Trade and Investment Data/Trade Promotion 217
Working Group #4
Fisheries 219
Working Group #5
Marine Resource Conservation 224
Working Group #6
Energy Cooperation 229
Working Group #7
Industrial Science and Technology 234
Working Group #8
Transportation 236
Working Group #9
Telecommunications 239
Transparency
U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China 240

appendix

REFERENCES 241

Unit Introduction

UNDERSTANDING CHINA IN THE 21ST CENTURY: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SECURITY ISSUES IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION

U.S. AND JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH CHINA—CASE STUDIES OF COOPERATION AND COMPETITION

Rationale and Introduction to Lessons

Global political relations are in a state of unprecedented flux. The "new world order" is frequently evoked, but in reality it does not yet exist. Old alliances and relationships have ended or are in the process of being transformed, sometimes under great pressure. State-to-state relations in Asia and elsewhere must be redefined as interdependence steadily grows, breaking down the firm national boundaries of the past. Under these circumstances, increased communication between and among nations and new or strengthened international institutions are essential.

In this setting, the U.S.–Japan relationship has become more crucial than ever. In every sense—economic, political, and strategic—our two nations are intertwined. Yet tensions have grown, the citizens of each country have become more critical of the other, and the available mechanisms for dialogue and decision-making have not sufficed to resolve a number of problems.

Among many political issues that should be discussed between us, few if any are more important than those relating to China. In the past, China has not infrequently evoked different interpretations and policies from the United States and Japan. Such differences have once again appeared in the aftermath of the Tiananmen crackdown in 1989.

In part, these differences reflect variation in geography. China is a near, and big, neighbor of Japan; it is more distant and looms less large for the United States. In part, they reflect dissimilar economic relations with China at present. There are also historical, cultural, and political factors to be considered. Given these facts, it is all the more urgent that we discuss in an open and frank manner our views, with respect to both political trends within China and the thrust of our respective policies, including their anticipated results. (The Asia Society, *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*, p. v.)

Understanding China in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region is part 1 of a five-part curriculum series. Parts 2 through 5 focus on U.S. and Japanese relations with the following countries: South Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, and the Philippines. This curriculum series introduces students to policy options for the United States and Japan in various Asian countries at the turn of the century. Many scholars and business leaders are referring to the 21st century as the "Pacific Age." The rapid economic growth and the accompanying changes unfolding in Asia merit thoughtful attention. *The Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly* has recently noted that by the year 2000, Asian economies will exceed those of Canada, the United States, and Mexico combined. It also notes the following:

- Asia controls two-thirds of all consumer electronics manufacturing and nearly half of the world auto production.
- The GNP of Pacific Rim economies will total an estimated $13 trillion by the year 2000—twice the GNP of a unified Europe.
- In less than ten years, six of the ten largest cities in the world will be on the Pacific—none will be in Europe.

The future of countries such as the United States and Japan are inextricably tied to that of Asia. It is important that as young people study contemporary world issues they develop a knowledge of Asian countries and the issues affecting relationships between their own country and Asia. Working with primary source materials including policy studies, news articles, political cartoons, textbook excerpts, speeches, and/or interviews, students consider the complex interaction of historic, political, economic, and security issues through specific case studies. The students identify and examine these issues and consider important policy questions.

Each of the five parts of this curriculum series can be taught independently. A strong effort has been made to include perspectives from each of the countries under study. For example, in this curriculum unit, *Understanding China in the 21st Century. Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region* , perspectives from U.S., Japanese, and Chinese scholars, political leaders, business leaders, and journalists are included. Because of this, we feel that this five-part series, taught in its entirety, can add an important element to a high school or community college class in social studies, contemporary world issues, or international relations.

Understanding China in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region seeks to introduce students to policy options for U.S. and Japanese relations with China at the turn of the century. By identifying and examining these options, students will gain an awareness of U.S., Japanese, and Chinese perspectives on political, economic, and security issues.

Lesson 1 of the unit sets the historical context for the study of contemporary U.S. and Japanese relations with China. A U.S.–

Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China[1] has noted that:

> China was regarded [by the United States] at times as a heroic nation, unjustly victimized by others; at other times it was seen either as a society that would never be cohesive or as the foremost standard-bearer of the communist cause in Asia.[2]

This Consultative Group has also noted that:

> Japan's record within Asia, though still debated in various circles, has left a strong negative legacy. Japan's projection outward from a substantial economic base did not start in the 1930s: an empire was already in the making in the late 19th century with the acquisition of Taiwan, and soon Korea as well was incorporated under the Japanese flag. It is not surprising that other Asian countries watch Japan—once again monumentally successful in economic terms—with varying degrees of concern despite strong indications that the Japanese people have no desire to pursue old paths.[3]

Lesson 1 begins with an introduction to Japan's military involvement in Asia, particularly in China, during the 1930s. By examining primary source materials, students learn Japan's reasons for, the Chinese reactions to, and an American depiction of the events that led to World War II. The lesson focuses specifically on Nanjing in 1937 and the impact this particular episode in history has had on Sino-Japanese relations up to the present day. Next, students analyze different accounts of the June 4, 1989, Tiananmen Square incident and the corresponding issues that continue to influence U.S. policy towards China. Asked to compare Chinese, Japanese, and U.S. newspaper reports on these particular episodes in history, students learn to appreciate different points of view on historical events.

Lesson 2 focuses on China's political situation. Using a readers' theater, this lesson introduces students to the following perspectives: intergenerational, urban/rural, male/female, and old guard/new guard. It also introduces influential Chinese leaders, past and present. The readers' theater takes place in contemporary China, with people in the script not only discussing China's present-day political situation but also reflecting back to certain dates in China's past (for example, the Long March, Cultural Revolution). Students will be introduced to China's political history since 1949, the year the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), led by Chairman Mao Zedong, won the civil war against General Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party (KMT).

Lesson 3 consists of two activities. Activity 1 introduces students to China's economy in transition through visual images from China. Students in small groups will be provided with some important information about this transition as well as visual images illustrative of this transition. Activity 2 utilizes the case study of Nike shoes in China to introduce students to basics concepts in China's economy and international trade. Students will engage in a role-play in which they negotiate and make general recommendations to the CEO of Nike Shoes about whether Nike should stay in China.

Lesson 4 introduces students to the issues related to U.S. policy toward China, with a focus on human rights. One of the most prominent and provocative issues upon which the United States and China have experienced varying amounts of tension is the issue of human rights. Why the United States and China disagree on human rights, even the basic definition of the phrase, will be analyzed through a number of lenses. Students will hopefully come to understand the difficulties that policymakers face in trying to take a stand on the issue, while at the same time considering the number of perspectives that a policy should incorporate. This lesson consists of an opening activity that introduces students to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and four small group activities that seek to show students that one reason that the United States and China hold such differing views on trade and human rights issues is because a number of different underlying assumptions and values exist.

In lesson 5, security issues in the South China Sea will be examined. Students in small groups, representing the countries of China, Japan, the United States, Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan, Vietnam, and the Philippines, will participate in a simulated summit, "Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea."

Finally, lesson 6 examines important future areas of cooperation and competition in U.S. and Japanese relations with China, specifically related to Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). Students will be introduced to APEC as an economic forum started in 1989 that might evolve into an institution that would liberalize trade and solve disputes. A primary purpose of this lesson is to have students reflect on the importance of APEC trade to the United States. For example, APEC member nations buy approximately half of U.S. exports, and approximately 60 percent of U.S. imports are from APEC member nations. This lesson introduces students to APEC and its 18 members through a geographic exercise and a summary of APEC's goals and activities. Through a jigsaw approach using nine small group activities, students are then introduced to APEC's working groups.

Unit Goals

Each of the six lessons in this curriculum unit has specific learning objectives listed. These objectives have been divided into knowledge, attitude, and skill objectives for students. The following reflect larger goals for the curriculum unit as a whole.

unit introduction

In this curriculum unit, students will:

- learn to recognize multiple perspectives presented in the media
- learn to recognize, evaluate, and see beyond cross-cultural stereotypes that have existed historically between the United States, Japan, and China and that continue to be perpetuated
- examine how historical legacies continue to affect international relationships and events between the United States and China and between Japan and China
- develop a basic understanding of China's political situation and an appreciation of the multiple U.S. and Japanese perspectives on this situation
- become familiar with some international economic controversies between the United States and China and between Japan and China, including conflicts related to trading and investment practices; and analyze the complex issues contributing to these controversies
- learn about human rights issues in China that are a source of concern to the United States
- learn about Sino–Japanese relations through an examination of security issues in the South China Sea
- become familiar with Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and recognize the importance of the APEC member nations to the United States
- learn to think critically and make informed opinions
- evaluate different opinions and generate alternative perspectives on an issue
- learn tools to enhance awareness and communication
- work effectively in small and large groups
- organize and express opinions in a debate

Materials

Handouts and primary source documents have been provided with each lesson to present students with a range of perspectives on the topic being studied. Permission is given to reproduce these handouts and documents for classroom use only. A list of materials for each lesson is provided in each lesson.

Time, Suggested Sequence of Activities

Understanding China in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region is divided into six lessons. We recommend two to three class periods for each lesson. The various activities have been designed to give students multiple perspectives on the topic being studied.

Small Group Roles

Understanding China in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region engages students in many small group activities. Some of the suggested roles and responsibilities for students working in small groups are:

- **Facilitator**: responsible for reading instructions or designating someone in the group to read instructions, for assuring that the group is on task, and for communicating with the instructor
- **Recorder**: responsible for writing answers to questions, taking notes, etc.
- **Timekeeper**: responsible for keeping track of the time allocated for activities
- **Materials Manager**: responsible for obtaining and keeping track of materials used by the group
- **Harmonizer**: responsible for the group process, making sure, for example, that no one dominates the discussion or that everyone is participating
- **Reporter**: responsible for organizing group presentations and presenting results of activities to the class

Some lessons in this curriculum unit have specific small group roles listed by individual lesson.

Subjects

This curriculum unit is recommended for use in social studies, history, global/international studies, and contemporary issues classes.

Equipment

- Overhead Projector

Icons

For easier reference the following icons are used throughout the unit:

Notes to the Teacher
Student Cards
Homework
Small Group Activity
Transparency
Group Presentation

Policy Study References

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Economic Issues*. New York, New York: Asia Society, 1992.

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*. New York, New York: Asia Society, 1992.

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Security Issues*. New York, New York: Asia Society, 1993.

---

[1] A project cosponsored by The Asia Society and the Japan Institute of International Affairs. This group consisted of American and Japanese scholars, journalists, and governmental, educational, and corporate leaders. Three meetings of the group were held from 1991-1993, and the areas of focus were U.S.–Japan policy dialogue on China in the areas of economics, politics, and security.

[2] U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China, *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Security Issues*. (New York: The Asia Society, 1993), 5.

[3] U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China, *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Security Issues*. (New York: The Asia Society, 1993), 5–6.

Lesson 1

HISTORICAL LEGACIES

NANJING, 1937 AND TIANANMEN, 1989

Organizing Questions

- What are some historical legacies between Japan and China and between the United States and China, and how do they influence the relationships and policies between these countries?
- Do historic accounts of Nanjing, 1937, and Tiananmen, 1989, vary? Why?

Introduction

This lesson begins with an introduction to Japan's military expansion in Asia, particularly in China, during the late 1930s. By examining primary source materials, students will consider some of Japan's reasons for, Chinese reactions to, and a U.S. depiction of the events that led to World War II. The lesson focuses specifically on an episode in history known in the United States as the Nanjing Massacre of 1937 (or the Rape of Nanjing) and the impact this particular historical episode has had on Sino–Japanese relations up to the present. Next, students will analyze different accounts of the June 4, 1989, events in Tiananmen Square and the corresponding issues that continue to influence U.S. policy toward China. Asked to compare Chinese, Japanese, and U.S. newspaper reports on these particular episodes in history, students will become aware of the importance of understanding different points of view on historical events and the role certain words play in promoting these differences.

Objectives

knowledge

- to gain an awareness of Japan's historical legacy in Asia
- to appreciate the impact of historical events on the future relations and foreign policies between countries
- to learn about significant episodes in history, namely the events surrounding Nanjing in 1937 and Tiananmen Square in 1989, from different points of view
- to discern the use of specific words that influence the way in which "facts" are presented

attitude

- to realize that the behavior of both individuals and countries can often be explained by different past experiences
- to consider other possible (plausible) views of a particular event in history
- to recognize the nature of certain words used to describe events, people, and ideas

skill

- to comprehend the challenges and dynamics that influence relations and policies between countries and individuals by relating events in one's own life to the development of one's personality and friendships
- to recognize other points of view, and attempt to formulate fair policy accordingly
- to question the objectivity of the media, historical records, and texts

Materials Activity 1

- Historical Map of Japan's Presence in China, 1930s, overhead transparency
- Script #1: Speech by Prince Fumimaro Konoye, Premier of Japan, September 1937, one copy
- Script #2: Japan—The International Culprit, one copy
- Japan Can Be Stopped!, overhead transparency
- This Is Bubble Gum's War in China, overhead transparency
- Handout #1: Historian's Notebook, 12 copies
- Teacher's Guide to the "Horrors of War" Trading Cards, for the teacher
- 12 "Horrors of War" Trading Cards
- Overhead projector

Materials Activity 2

- Handout #2: The Past Not Forgotten, one copy per small group of 3–4 students
- Handout #3: Ogawa Dismisses Textbook Attacks, one copy per small group of 3–4 students
- Handout #4: Sino–Japanese Relations Are Troubled As Peking Objects to Textbook Revisions, one copy per small group of 3–4 students
- Textbook Controversy, overhead transparency
- Handout #5: Statement Calls for "Quelling the Riot," one copy per small group of 3–4 students
- Handout #6: Uprising in China Crushed by Troops: Army Mows Down Hundreds, one copy per small group of 3–4 students
- China's Use of Force Deplored by Uno, overhead transparency
- Handout #7: Follow-up and/or Homework Assignments

Activity 1 is designed to provide students with the background information necessary to understand the historic context in China prior to World War II. Using Japanese, Chinese, and U.S. primary source materials, students analyze these three countries' different perspectives on the Sino-Japanese conflict, and the corresponding language and images used to describe historical events and war.

It is hoped that through this activity, students will learn about Japan's historical legacy in China and discern how the use of language and images can influence the way in which "facts" are presented.

Encourage students to remember that these are only a few examples of many episodes in history that continue to influence and complicate current foreign relations and policy.

Procedure: Activity 1

1. Introduce this curriculum unit by informing students that they will be learning about relations and policy issues between Japan and China, and between the United States and China. In order to understand the nature of U.S. and Japanese relations with China today, it is important to appreciate the history of these relationships. In lesson 1, the students will learn about two historical episodes that continue to influence and complicate relations between Japan and China and between the United States and China. In subsequent lessons, students relate the issues discussed in this lesson to the formation of foreign policy, particularly in the areas of politics, economics, human rights, and security. By critically analyzing the different perspectives from which Japan, the United States, and China view historical events, students will learn to identify some ways in which historical tensions are perpetuated. The purpose of this unit is to develop students' appreciation for the dynamics and challenges inherent in fair and effective policymaking, as well as illustrate areas in which relations continue to improve.

2. To provide a geographic and historical context for students to explore Sino–Japanese relations prior to World War II, show the Historical Map transparency.

   First, identify the following regions and cities on the map:

   - Tokyo: capital of Japan
   - Manchuria: a region of China; referred to as Manchukuo during the Japanese occupation of this region of China
   - Beijing: capital of China; sometimes spelled Peking or Peiping
   - Nanjing: a former capital of China; sometimes spelled Nanking
   - Shanghai: a city in China

Inform students that Chinese characters have been translated into English using different spelling (romanization) systems. This is why, for example, sometimes "Nanjing" is spelled "Nanking" and "Beijing" is spelled "Peiping." Point out also that *nan* means "south," *bei* means "north," and *jing* means "capital." Therefore, Nanjing means "southern capital" and Beijing means "northern capital." Both cities have been used as capitals during different periods of Chinese history. In the 1930s, Nanjing was the capital of the Nationalist government.

Second, using the map as a reference, share the following information with the students:

In the 1930s, China officially was controlled by the Nationalist government (the Kuomintang Party), under the leadership of General Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Communist Party, however, was fighting the Nationalists for the control of China, resulting in a civil war that didn't end until 1949 when the defeated Nationalists fled to Taiwan. Meanwhile, Japan's presence in Manchuria intensified. In 1931, Japanese troops occupied Manchuria and in 1932 forcefully established a puppet state called Manchukuo. In 1932, Japanese troops invaded Shanghai on China's east coast; in 1933, they invaded a province in northern China; and in 1937, they opened fire on the Marco Polo Bridge near Beijing, beginning an eight-year war with China. Intensely strong anti-Japanese sentiments developed in China— students protested the Japanese occupation and Japanese goods were boycotted. In 1936, the Nationalists and Communists, both threatened by the Japanese military invasion, formed an alliance to fight a war of resistance against Japan. The Sino-Japanese War lasted from 1937 to 1945.

Meanwhile, Europe, still a traumatized and unstable continent following World War I, searched for strong leadership, allowing fascists to assume power. In Germany, Hitler was ascending. Nazi aggression encroached in Europe, and Italy invaded Africa. The Allies—the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, and France—distracted by events in Europe, did not become allies with China until 1941 after the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor.

3. Following this brief geographic and historical context setting, select two students to read speeches made in 1937, one by Prince Fumimaro Konoye, Premier of Japan, and the other on behalf of the Chinese.

Have one student read the speech made by Prince Konoye.

Using the Japan Can Be Stopped! overhead transparency as a backdrop, have the second student read a speech made on behalf of the Chinese in 1937.

Debrief the speeches by discussing the following:

  - Describe some of the major differences in the perspectives of the two speeches.
  - Prince Fumimaro Konoye refers to Japan's intention of "firmly establishing world peace," and the Chinese speech refers to Japan "endangering the peace of the world." How are both of these claims supported by the speakers?
  - What do you think the United States' position was on the Sino–Japanese conflict? Point out that the next activity illustrates one U.S. perspective depicted on "Horrors of War" trading cards printed in Philadelphia by Gum, Inc. in 1938.

4. Using the This Is Bubble Gum's War in China overhead transparency, select a student to read the text to the class. This article was published in *Life Magazine* in 1937.
5. Divide the class into 12 groups. Explain to the students that they are going to imagine themselves as the "future historians" referred to in the article, "This Is Bubble Gum's War in China." They have found the "Horrors of War" trading cards as artifacts of popular U.S. culture from 1938.

   Distribute one trading card and a copy of Handout #1, Historian's Notebook, to each group. Each group should select one person to record group comments in the Historian's Notebook, and one to report the historians' findings to the class.
6. Allow students 20–30 minutes to analyze their cards and to discuss and record answers on the Historians' Notebook.

   Refer to the Teacher's Guide to the 'Horrors of War' Trading Cards for information about names, terms, and places mentioned in the text of the cards.
7. Ask the 12 group reporters to come before the class, one at a time, in the order of the cards, #1–12. The cards are listed chronologically. Have each students read the text of his/her group's card, describe the card's visual image, and summarize the findings recording in the Historian's Notebook.
8. Debrief this activity by asking the following questions:
   - How does this activity illustrate the importance of analyzing differing perspectives on the same event?
   - How does this activity illustrate the importance of distinguishing between fact, opinion, bias, stereotypes, and propaganda?
   - How might Japan's historical legacy in China influence Japan's relationship with China today?
   - How might Japan's historical legacy in China influence the United States' relationship with China and Japan today?

Procedure: Activity 2 Part 1

1. Begin this activity by informing students that in 1982 a "textbook controversy" between China and Japan was sparked by the Japanese Ministry of Education's decision to approve a revision in Japanese high school textbooks. According to Chinese sources, the changing of certain words used in the Japanese textbooks altered the description of Japanese acts in Nanjing in 1937.
2. Divide the class into small groups of 3–4 students. Distribute one copy of the following handouts to each group:
   - Handout #2: The Past Not Forgotten
   - Handout #3: Ogawa Dismisses Textbook Attacks
   - Handout #4: Sino–Japanese Relations Are Troubled As Peking Objects to Textbook Revisions
3. Have groups read through these articles and discuss and record answers to the following questions, also listed on the Textbook Controversy overhead transparency.
   - What is the difference between "aggression against China" and "advance into China?"
   - In 1982, Japan's minister of education said that China's criticism of Japanese textbooks signifies China's intervention in Japan's domestic affairs. Do you agree? Why or why not?
   - Why did a 1982 textbook description of an event that occurred in 1937 affect current relations between Japan and China?
   - What does it mean to be impartial and objective? Is it possible to report historic events from a fair and neutral stance? What constitutes a factual and accurate account of history?
   - Is there more than one source of facts on a particular event? How might different sources of information influence the description of an event? Who decides which facts are used to describe an event and which are not? Who decides which aspect of an event to cover?
   - Different words can express different ways of changing how the past is represented. To "revise history" is a relatively neutral term that usually refers to rewriting a description of the past by integrating new information into a prior understanding of the past, similar to "updating history." To "distort history" signifies a more biased presentation of the past, and carries a connotation of deliberate effort to emphasize one perspective over another. Lastly, to "politicize history" indicates that history is being used to rationalize power or policies. Can you think of examples in which your country's past may have been revised, distorted, or politicized?
   - Are your own textbooks impartial and objective?

Part 2

1. Inform students that they will next analyze three different perspectives on another historic event which occurred in Tiananmen Square, China, on June 4, 1989.
2. Divide the class in half (Sides A and B). Divide each side into smaller groups of 3–4 students each. Tell the small groups of Side A that they are editors of a Chinese newspaper. Tell the small groups of Side B that they are editors of a U.S. newspaper. The editors of the Chinese newspaper will be asked to criticize the U.S. newspaper's description of events in Tiananmen, and the editors of the U.S. newspaper will be asked to criticize the Chinese newspaper's description of events in Tiananmen.
3. Distribute copies of Handout #5, Statement Calls for 'Quelling the Riot," and Handout #6, Uprising in China Crushed by Troops: Army Mows Down Hundreds, to all small groups of both sides.

   Ask the students in the small groups to discuss the following questions. (These are included in the "Group Task" on Handout #6, following the article from the *San Francisco Examiner*.)

   Compare the words used in the article from the U.S. newspaper with the article from the Chinese newspaper. Are there words that represent the same group or event but differ in their meanings and/or implications? For example, what are some of the differences between a "massacre" and a "riot?" Do the editors in your group agree with the point of view of the other country's newspaper?

   The following are some of the possible examples of words from the articles that students can compare:

   - massacre/riot
   - uprising/attack
   - mowing down/quelling
   - unarmed protesters/counter-revolutionaries
   - brutally crushing/restoring honor and order
   - vigil for democracy/overthrowing the People's Republic
4. Ask each group of editors to *objectively* rewrite a headline of a newspaper article describing the events at Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989, that would be acceptable to both the governments of the United States and China.
5. Ask one student from each small group on Side A to write the headlines on the classroom chalkboard. After all of the headlines for the small groups on Side A are written, ask the students on Side B to vote, as an editorial board, on the most objective headline.

6. Keep the "winning" headline on the chalkboard and erase the others. Ask one student from each small group on Side B to write the headlines on the chalkboard. After all of the headlines for the small groups on Side B are written, ask the students on Side A to vote, as an editorial board, on the most objective headline of Side B. Again, erase the others.

7. Debrief this activity by discussing the following:
   - Are the headlines on the chalkboard completely objective?
   - Do you think the "objective" headlines would attract readers?
   - Which headlines would sell more newspapers, those on the chalkboard or the original headlines in the Chinese and U.S. newspapers?
   - Compare the differences and similarities between how China is depicted on the 1938 "Horrors of War" trading cards and how China is depicted in the 1989 articles about Tiananmen.

8. Using the article, "China's Use of Force Deplored by Uno," as an overhead transparency, read through the article as a class and discuss the following:
   - How did Japan's historical legacy in China influence the way Japanese Prime Minister Uno publicly responded to the June 4, 1989, events in Tiananmen Square?
   - How is language used to perpetuate different perspectives on historic events?
   - How might the media influence and complicate foreign policy between countries?

9. Follow-up and/or homework activities are included on handout #7.

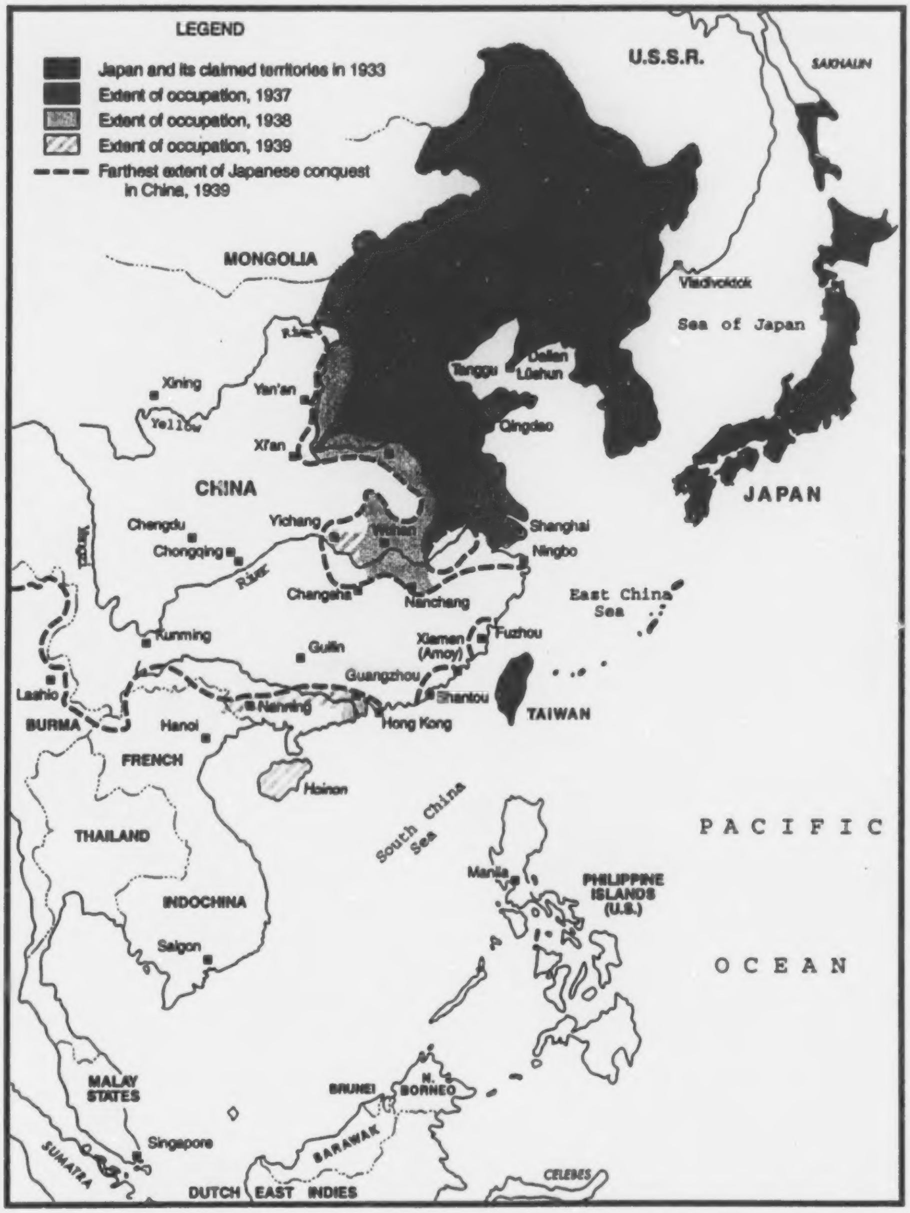
Policy Study References

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*. New York: The Asia Society, 1992.

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Economic Issues*. New York: The Asia Society, 1992.

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Security Issues*. New York: The Asia Society, 1993.

HISTORICAL MAP OF JAPAN'S PRESENCE IN CHINA, 1930s


LEGEND
Japan and its claimed territories in 1933
Extent of occupation, 1937
Extent of occupation, 1938
Extent of occupation, 1939
Farthest extent of Japanese conquest in China, 1939
U.S.S.R.
SAKHALIN
MONGOLIA
Vladivostok
Sea of Japan
Xining
Yan'an
Yellow
Xi'an
Tanggu
Dalian
Lüshun
Qingdao
CHINA
JAPAN
Chengdu
Chongqing
Yichang
Wuhan
Shanghai
Ningbo
River
Changsha
Nanchang
East China Sea
Kunming
Guilin
Xiamen (Amoy)
Fuzhou
Guangzhou
Shantou
Lashio
BURMA
Nanning
Hong Kong
TAIWAN
Hanoi
FRENCH
Hainan
South China Sea
PACIFIC
OCEAN
THAILAND
INDOCHINA
Saigon
Manila
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (U.S.)
MALAY STATES
BRUNEI
N. BORNEO
SARAWAK
Singapore
SUMATRA
CELEBES
DUTCH EAST INDIES

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Speech By Prince Fumimaro Konoye, Premier of Japan
September 1937

DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE NATIONAL SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION DRIVE
HIBIYA PUBLIC HALL, TOKYO

You already know that, on account of the lack of sincerity on the part of the Chinese, the Japanese government was forced to dispense with its previous policy of non-aggravation of the situation. The "North China Incident" has thus come to be termed "China Incident" instead. Now Japan is launching a positive and comprehensive-scaled punitive campaign against the anti-Japanese elements in China.

TO ESTABLISH PEACE

Needless, the real intention of Japan today, is to positively participate in the task of firmly establishing world peace, through collaboration among Japan, Manchukuo, and China. This fundamental stand as maintained by this country has never in the past undergone any alteration at all.

A firm peace must precede any real happiness and welfare for the whole populace in the Far East. The reconstruction of a modern State of China will be impossible without real cooperation between Japan and China, the two most powerful nations in this part of the world. I firmly believed that the anti-Japanese policy as has hitherto been adopted by the Nanking government will never lead the Chinese nation to real happiness as a nation.

PEOPLE MADE TO SUFFER

The anti-Japanese policy of Nanking is so deep-rooted in its origin, and it has been proved that the further the Japanese persevere, the more strength the movement in China gets for resisting and insulting this country. China is now on the very verge of turning communist. The younger generation of China are thus digging their own graves after having been brought up under the anti-Japanese national principle for the past fifteen years, while the innocent Chinese populace, young and old, who have barely escaped being affected by this policy of the Nanking government, are suffering from a most inclement domestic conflict imaginable.

The real condition prevailing in China being thus, it seems incumbent on Japan to deal a decisive blow on the anti-Japanese elements in China, not only for the sake of the national security of this country but also for the sake of the peace and order in the Far East and, further, for the sake of humanity. After these anti-Japanese elements in China have been rooted out by the force exerted by the Japanese, the healthier elements in that country will be able to find out the direction in which their effort should be directed in the future in order that the projected reconstruction on the modern basis of their nation be materialized. Some day, indeed, Japan will have to solve once for all this China problem. The time has come now for us to face this question boldly full in the face. Otherwise, our posterity will have to take up the problem at their own cost. Seen in this light, it should be at once our delight and pride that we at this juncture should be able to endeavor to solve this historical feat required of the Japanese nation. We therefore should do our best in order to fulfill our obligation to the fullest extent possible.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

JAPAN—THE INTERNATIONAL CULPRIT

URGENT NEED FOR COORDINATED INTERNATIONAL ACTION AGAINST COMMON FOE

SEPTEMBER 1937

FROM *JAPAN THE WORLD'S ENEMY*, EDITED BY H. C. WU
CHENG ZUNG PUBLISHING SOCIETY, SHANGHAI, CHINA

Since her invasion of Mukden on September 18, 1931, Japan has not ceased to undermine the territorial integrity and sovereignty of China. These aggressions culminated in her forcible seizure of North China, invasion of Shanghai, and bombing of other important Chinese cities with her ruthless air force. China has been compelled to rise in self-defense, while Japan has shown utter disregard for the Nine-Power Treaty, the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact, and the Covenant of the League of Nations, thereby endangering the peace of the world.

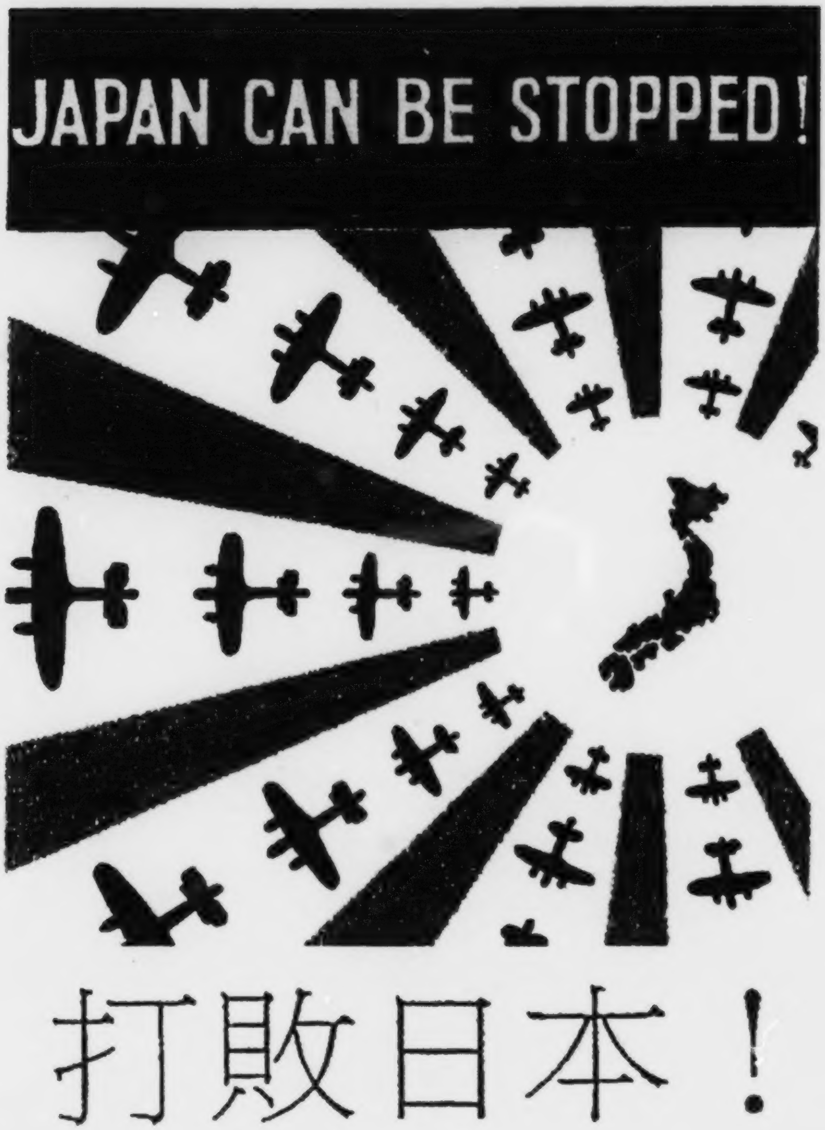
Her present use of the Shanghai International Settlement as a base of military operations and her illegal blockade of the Chinese coast are in violation of international law and justice. Therefore, China's resistance aims not solely to protect her own sovereignty and independence but also to uphold international law and justice in order to preserve the lasting peace and collective security of the world.

Ever since the day Japan used armed aggression against China, she has been bent on a systematic and deliberate destruction of our cultural institutions. For example, by the bombing of the Shanghai Oriental Library, by the destruction of Nan-kai, Tung-chi, Fuh-tan, and Chi-nan Universities. At the same time, Japan has wantonly attacked Chinese civilians, mostly women and children, members of the Chinese Red Cross and relief organizations as well as other non-combatants, both foreign and Chinese. With the recent wounding of the British Ambassador to China, Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen, Japan has shown her contempt for the recognized principals of justice and morality.

In short, Japan's ruthlessness makes her not only an enemy of China but also a common foe of all nations; and therefore no effort should be spared to uphold international law and to safeguard collective security. This matter should not be lightly passed over, nor should Japan's challenge be allowed to go unheeded.

War in itself is cruel; but even in warfare, international law binds the combatants to observe certain rules. How much more so are non-combatants entitled to be treated with humaneness!

JAPAN CAN BE STOPPED!


JAPAN CAN BE STOPPED!
打敗日本！

This Is Bubble Gum's War in China

Life Magazine, 1937

The course of the war in China may be very confusing to adult Americans but it is becoming very clear and familiar to myriad American youngsters who are bubble gum chewers. The reasons appear in the illustrations on these pages. These drawings, printed in vivid color, are given away by Gum, Inc. of Philadelphia with every slab of its "Blony" bubble gum. The buyer collects or swaps the cards. He blows the gum out of his mouth into huge balloon-like bubbles.

Giving war-picture cards away is old candy-trade practice but cards have usually related old-hat history like the massacre of Custer's men. Gum, Inc. gets its wars hot off the battlefield, is satisfied with nothing older than the slaughter in Nanking. The cards are executed by Gum, Inc.'s advertising counsel, George Maull, a Sunday-school teacher, who lends a peaceful tone to the otherwise martial cards by printing on each the motto: "To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE." It is no fault of Mr. Maull's that children now ask for the product as "War Gum."

On the back of each card are detailed captions, quoted here, which are very specific about destruction and are anti-Japanese because Mr. Maull feels America is anti-Japanese. But some future historian may trace a cause for a U.S.–Japanese war to the fact that the generation that was pre-adolescent in America in 1938 had received severe anti-Japanese prejudices through its curious liking for blowing bubbles with Blony gum.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

handout #1

HISTORIAN'S NOTEBOOK

1. Which aspect(s) of war does this card depict?

2. How would the text on the back of the card influence the U.S. public's view of who is a friend and who is an enemy of the United States? With whom is the collector supposed to sympathize?

3. How might this card affect the way in which a card collector thinks about his or her neighbors if they were Japanese American? Chinese American? an immigrant from Japan or China?

4. How is the language of the card used to depict the "horrors of war"? Is similar language used today to depict incidents of war in other countries? incidents of war involving the United States?

5. Select a group reporter to represent your group and present a summary of your discussion to the rest of the class. Your teacher will designate a time for all of the group reporters in your class to line up in front of the class by order of the cards, #1–12.

TEACHER'S GUIDE TO THE "HORRORS OF WAR"

TRADING CARDS

Notes organized by card number. (Note: not all card descriptions contain words needing explanations.)

No. 1 Peiping: another way of pronouncing Beijing, the capital of China.

truce (as used in line 3): an armistice between the Chinese and Japanese military to stop the fighting between Japanese troops and Chinese resisters, and to maintain Japanese military expansion into Manchukuo.

Japs: a derogatory reference to the Japanese race commonly used in the United States by the wartime media.

Twenty-ninth Army: Chinese soldiers.

Troops of the Mikado: Japanese soldiers. Mikado refers to the emperor of Japan.

Manchukuo: the northeastern Manchurian region of China. In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria, and in 1932 set up a puppet government (the young Chinese boy-emperor, Pu-yi, held the throne only in name, while Japanese "advisors" indirectly assumed control).

No. 28 coolies: a derogatory word for an unskilled native laborer or servant in the Far East during the 20th century colonial era.

rickshas: human-powered carts used to transport people or goods.

No. 49 "areas occupied by the Japanese": areas of China invaded and conquered by Japanese troops.

Nanjing: an ancient city and Nationalist capital of China.

No. 55 Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek: the principal military commander and leader of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) Party in China.

Tokio: Tokyo, capital of Japan.

walls (as used in line 9): old, tall, stone walls built to protect ancient Chinese cities from invasion.

Japs: a derogatory reference to the Japanese race commonly used in the United States by wartime media.

No. 78 "All knew that to be found in possession of a uniform or gun meant death": a phrase indicating that Japanese soldiers would kill anyone who appeared to be a Chinese soldier.

junks, sampans, launches: names of different kinds of boats and floating platforms used in China.

Pukow: name of the area on the other side of the river.

No. 79 ancient capital: Nanjing

Tokio: Tokyo

"plans for a new autonomous government at this city": "new" is in reference to the already established autonomous government up north, in Manchukuo.

Chungshan Gate: the gate to enter the ancient city wall of Nanjing. Gates were designed to help defenders of Nanjing conquer invading troops trying to penetrate the armored gates.

Rising-sun banners: the rising sun is a symbol of Japan.

No. 146 sniping: firing gunshots at people from a hiding place.

Jap-haters: used in this particular card to denote patriotic Chinese people who violently protested the Japanese invasion of China and tried to kill their hated enemy. The word "Jap"—a derogatory reference to the Japanese race—was commonly used in the United States by the wartime media.

No. 148 Shantung Province: also known as Shandong (translated meaning: "North Mountain") Province, which is located directly above the capital city, Nanjing, Jiangsu Province.

campaign (as used in line 9): program to invade and control more areas in China

No. 273 today (as appears in line 2): refers to the year in which these bubble gum cards were printed and distributed, 1938.

Jap: a derogatory reference to the Japanese race commonly used in the United States by wartime media.

THE PAST NOT FORGOTTEN

CHINA DAILY, JULY 26, 1982
BY CHINA DAILY COMMENTATOR

The close and amicable relations between China and Japan have often been fondly described by the people of both countries as "the two countries are separated merely by a strip of water." Lately, however, to the concern of the people of the two countries, there has been a ripple in that strip of water.

This was caused by the recent revision of the school textbooks censored by the Japanese Ministry of Education. The Ministry approved some absurd changes. What was originally described accurately as the Japanese army's "all-out aggression against China" in 1937, is now called merely Japan's "advance into China."

In the passage on the hair-raising Nanjing atrocities, original affirmations such as "over 200,000 Chinese were killed," and "for their rape, plunder and burning the Japanese troops incurred worldwide condemnation" have been totally deleted. What is even more preposterous is that responsibility for the Nanjing atrocities has been shoveled onto the Chinese, alleging that "the cause of the incident was the stubborn resistance of the Chinese troops. When they inflicted heavy losses on the Japanese army, the Japanese troops were enraged and, as a result, they killed many Chinese soldiers and civilians."

Changes of a similar nature were also made in the paragraphs dealing with Japanese aggression in Southeast Asia.

PUBLIC CONCERN

Of course, it is up to the Japanese ministry to decide what to put into their school textbooks. But when it comes to distorting major historical facts and trying to shift responsibility for aggression onto other countries, it becomes a matter of public concern for just-minded people everywhere.

It is only natural that the revision has drawn angry denunciations from the public and the press in both countries. It is incredible that 37 years after the end of World War II, and at a time when the two nations are about to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the normalization of relations, such crude attempts should have been made to turn back the clock.

Japanese aggression brought untold suffering to the people of China and Southeast Asia. And the Japanese people, too, paid a high price for the sustained war. Aggression does not pay. This is a lesson to remember.

Ten years ago, in September, when former Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka came to China for the normalization of relations between the two countries, he discussed the lesson with the late Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. The Chinese Premier made a statement which later became famous: "Owing to the Japanese militarists' aggression against China, the Chinese people were made to endure tremendous disasters and the Japanese people, too, suffered a great deal from it. The past not forgotten is a guide for the future. We should firmly bear the experience and the lesson in mind."

REGRETFUL

In reply the Japanese Prime Minister said, "It is regretful that for several decades in the past the relations between Japan and China had unfortunate experiences. During that time our country caused great trouble to the Chinese people for which I once again make profound self-examination."

The Chinese have never failed in distinguishing the Japanese militarists, and they never tried to nail the responsibility of the Japanese rulers of the 1930s upon those of today. The overwhelming majority of the

Japanese people have since been working earnestly for long-term good relations between the two countries. For the past decade or more, "Chinese and Japanese people will be friends from generation to generation" has become a ringing slogan guiding their relations and a goal for both peoples. They have not forgotten the lesson.

Unfortunately, a handful of Japanese militarists have now deliberately distorted historical facts in order to make the younger generations of Japanese forget the lesson that they, too, should bear in mind. In the face of the amicable relations between the two nations, the chances seem slim for success of this handful's design. However, the fact that 45 years after the Japanese militarists launched their invasion of China there are still some souls who are nostalgic of the heyday of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" is a sign that the people of the two countries cannot afford to ignore.

© SPICE

OGAWA DISMISSES TEXTBOOK ATTACKS

—OVER DESCRIPTIONS OF JAPANESE WARTIME ACTIONS—
JAPAN TIMES, JULY 25, 1982

Education Minister Heiji Ogawa Friday dismissed criticism from China and South Korea over changes made in descriptions about World War II appearing in Japanese school textbooks that are screened by his ministry.

In a meeting with Motofumi Makieda, president of the Japan Teachers Union (Nikkyoso), Ogawa claimed that his ministry had maintained a fair and neutral stance in screening school textbooks.

The meeting, designed to promote understanding, actually ended in deepening the rift between the two sides when Makieda told the press after the meeting that Ogawa had said the criticism by China and South Korea was tantamount to intervention in Japan's domestic affairs.

Ogawa denied he had made such a remark during his talks with Makieda.

The education minister told Makieda, however, that the ministry's official attitude on the screening of school textbooks would be explained in the Diet.

Ogawa's statement came in answer to Makieda's protest that the Education Ministry's screening had distorted historical facts and made textbooks biased.

The Nikkyoso leader was referring to the replacement of words such as "invade" with "advance" in describing the Japanese Imperial Army's activities in China, a change which has incensed both China and South Korea.

During the meeting, Makieda urged Ogawa to continue the current system of providing free textbooks to children up to the junior high school level and urged him to trim the size of primary school classes to 40 pupils.

Ogawa, on the other hand, urged Makieda not to stage unlawful strikes of teachers under any circumstances.

handout #4

SINO–JAPANESE RELATIONS ARE TROUBLED AS PEKING OBJECTS TO TEXTBOOK REVISIONS

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, AUGUST 4, 1982
BY FRANK CHING, STAFF REPORTER

Peking—Once again history has reached out and affected the course of present events. This time, it is the controversy over Japanese textbooks that play down the brutality of Japan's invasion of China and its aggression against Southeast Asian countries.

It is ironic that China should be making a protest, because the Chinese over the past 30 years have politicized history more than many peoples. This was blatant during the Cultural Revolution. But even after the radicals were overthrown, official photographs of the memorial service for Chairman Mao Tse-tung were doctored so that his widow Jiang Qing and her followers were no longer in evidence.

These acts constitute revision of domestic history. What the Chinese are objecting to is the gross distortion, if not falsification, of recent international history as portrayed in Japanese textbooks. And in this the Chinese are right. The Japanese acts also have sparked protests in South Korea, North Korea, and Southeast Asia.

But, because China was the main victim of Japanese aggression, it is natural that it should lodge the most forceful objections. China rejected the Japanese explanation that textbooks are prepared by the private sector, because it is ultimately the Ministry of Education that calls the shots.

China's withdrawal of its invitation to the Japanese minister of education, Heiji Ogawa, to visit Peking in September shows the seriousness with which the Chinese view the issue.

Only a couple of months ago, when China's Premier Zhao Ziyang visited Tokyo, the two countries appeared to be the best of friends, without a cloud on the horizon to threaten that relationship. But if the problem isn't resolved soon, it could mar the September visit to China of Japanese Premier Zenko Suzuki. The visit will mark the 10th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

AGGRESSION OR "ADVANCE"

Many Chinese still harbor bitter memories of the country's humiliation at the hands of the Japanese, who occupied large parts of the country in the 1930s and 1940s and set up a puppet regime in China's northeast. Japanese atrocities, particularly the "rape of Nanking," in which several hundred thousand Chinese were killed, remain vivid in many memories. Even today many Chinese, especially those in their fifties or sixties, boycott Japanese goods.

The new textbooks sanctioned by the Japanese Ministry of Education describe the aggression against China as an "advance" and attribute the massacre in Nanking to provocation by Chinese resistance fighters.

In recent days, Chinese newspapers have printed photographs to bolster the Chinese contention that the new textbooks are grossly misleading. The photographs included one of a Japanese soldier, sword in hand, holding the head of a Chinese he had just beheaded.

Other pictures show Chinese being burned alive or being used for bayonet practice. The raw emotionalism released by such photographs will be difficult to control. Anti-Japanese feeling lies just beneath the skin of a lot of people in this country, and the textbook dispute is potentially explosive, unless the Japanese rescind their revision of history. Otherwise, relations between the two countries may be headed for serious trouble.

An ominous note in the Chinese press has hinted darkly that the same Japanese militarists who launched the attack against China were behind the textbook revisions. A People's Daily commentary, for example, said: "Japanese militarists can paint the hell on earth they created in China as a 'paradise,' describe their aggression against China and Southeast Asia as moves to establish a 'Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' and use their textbooks to describe Japanese aggression as an 'advance.' But they cannot dispel the painful memories of their aggression, killing, torture, and plunder from the minds of the Chinese and Southeast Asian peoples, nor can they ease the strong hatred of the Japanese people who were forced to serve as cannon fodder in the aggressive war."

NO MILITARISM CHARGES

So far, however, there haven't been any charges in the Chinese press about a revival of Japanese militarism. Such charges were raised in 1970 and 1971 but promptly dropped after the two countries normalized relations in 1972. Recent reports about Japanese plans to increase the defense budget haven't produced any Chinese criticism.

But the Chinese press has reprinted articles from abroad that accuse Japan of aiming to revive militarism. The official Xinhua news agency, for example, carried an account from a Thai newspaper that said the textbook changes are aimed at preparing public opinion for a revival of Japanese militarism.

One interesting aspect of this textbook controversy is that old enemies have now found common ground in condemning Japan. Both North and South Korea took issue with the textbook changes, and the reaction on Taiwan was similar to that in Peking. Even the Soviet Union has condemned the revisions.

TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY

- What is the difference between "aggression against China" and advance into China?"

- In 1982, Japan's minister of education said that China's criticism of Japanese textbooks signifies China's intervention in Japan's domestic affairs. Do you agree? Why or why not?

- Why did a 1982 textbook description of an event that occurred in 1937 affect current relations between Japan and China?

- What does it mean to be impartial and objective? Is it possible to report historic events from a fair and neutral stance? What constitutes a factual and accurate account of history?

- Is there more than one source of facts on a particular event? How might different sources of information influence the description of an event? Who decides which facts are used to describe an event and which are not? Who decides which aspect of an event to cover?

- Different words can express different ways of changing how the past is represented. To "revise history" is a relatively neutral term that usually refers to rewriting a description of the past by integrating new information into a prior understanding of the past, similar to "updating history." To "distort history" signifies a more biased presentation of the past, and carries a connotation of deliberate effort to emphasize one perspective over another. Lastly, to "politicize history" indicates that history is being used to rationalize power or policies. Can you think of examples in which your country's past may have been revised, distorted, or politicized?

- Are your own textbooks impartial and objective?

© SPICE

STATEMENT CALLS FOR "QUELLING THE RIOT"

CHINA DAILY, JUNE 6, 1989

The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and the State Council issued a joint statement yesterday, saying that the Chinese capital is now in a "critical state" as a result of the "shocking counter-revolutionary riot" instigated by a handful of people with ulterior motives, according to People's Daily.

The riot, which began early on Saturday, was aimed at "negating the leadership of the Communist Party, denouncing the socialist system and overthrowing the People's Republic," the statement said.

It was under such circumstances that the People's Liberation Army was compelled to take action to quell the riot. In the course of the action the PLA martial law units "tried their best to avoid bloodshed, but some casualties, nevertheless, occurred, mostly involving military personnel," according to the statement.

The statement urged all Communist Party members, Chinese people from all walks of life and other compatriots to support the Party and government in opposing the riot and help maintain law and order in the city, "but not let themselves be misled by rumours," according to People's Daily.

Also published in yesterday's People's Daily was an open letter addressed to the PLA martial law units by the PLA General Staff, General Political Department, and General Logistics Department, warmly congratulating the units' victory in "quelling the counter-revolutionary riot" and restoring the "honour and order of Tiananmen Square."

However, the letter said this was but an "initial triumph" and urged the PLA units to further consolidate their position and carry on the action against the counter-revolutionary riot to the end, the People's Daily reported.

UPRISING IN CHINA CRUSHED BY TROOPS: ARMY MOWS DOWN HUNDREDS

San Francisco Examiner, June 4, 1989

SOLDIERS AND TANKS SWEEP THROUGH TIANANMEN SQUARE IN LATE-NIGHT ATTACK

by Mary Ganz

BEIJING—The Chinese army marched into the symbolic center of Communist China Sunday morning, mowing down unarmed civilians and brutally crushing the three-week vigil for democracy in Tiananmen Square.

Under the eyes of the famous portrait of Mao Tse-tung and alongside the student-made "Goddess of Democracy," troops, backed by tanks and armored personnel carriers, fired again and again at several thousand unarmed protesters even as dawn was breaking.

"It's terrible, horrible," said Michael Goldman, 29, an American-born Beijing resident who was in Tiananmen Square at 4 a.m. "People right next to me were getting shot. Old ladies, women, mothers—I saw mothers shot and children crying on the bodies."

"My government has gone insane," said a doctor at Beijing's Youdian Hospital.

The massacre, which is sure to leave China permanently scarred, cost dozens, perhaps hundreds, of lives.

The Associated Press quoted a Chinese doctor who estimated 500 people had been killed in Tiananmen Square and other parts of the city, while United Press International, quoting witnesses and hospital officials said more than 200 people were killed and 600 wounded. There was no way to confirm the casualty counts.

Twelve hours after shooting began at 2:10 a.m. Sunday local time, streets around the 100-acre square had yet to be cleared of protesters, who had vowed to fight to the death for democratic reforms.

By midday, tens of thousands of protesters were milling in various parts of central Beijing. New posters had gone up calling for "Workers strike."

"The Chinese people are highly miserablized," said one man in his 30s, speaking in broken English.

"We need guns from the U.S.A. to defend ourselves," said a younger man.

As a gray, smoke-filled dawn broke Sunday over the blood-covered streets, soldiers, trucks, and armored vehicles mounted with machine guns continued to pour into the center of Beijing.

Phone booths were shattered, buses were burned beyond recognition, and there was the smell of carnage in the air.

Intermittent bursts of gunfire persisted and military helicopters circled a city convulsed by its worst violence since World War II.

'COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY REBELLION'

The crackdown came two weeks after the government declared martial law in an effort to end the student occupation of the square that began May 13.

In its only official statement—a broadcast at 9:15 a.m.—the Chinese government labeled the student movement a "counter-revolutionary rebellion" trying to overthrow the government and the socialist system.

"For many days, the People's Liberation Army

© SPICE

has exercised restraint and now must resolutely counteract the rebellion. All those who refuse to listen to reason must take full responsibility for their actions and their consequences," said the statement read by a Beijing television announcer.

The announcer then presented a news bulletin saying that thousands of armed police and soldiers had been injured and an unspecified number killed.

The broadcast stated that there were "some people in the square who died."

President Bush denounced the Chinese government for using military force and implied the action could damage U.S.–China relations.

"I deeply deplore the decision to use force against peaceful demonstrators and the consequent loss of life," Bush said in a written statement released by the White House on Saturday.

A four-man CBS news team, including correspondent Richard Roth, was beaten and arrested by Chinese police Sunday and was being held at an unknown location in Beijing, a CBS spokesman said.

According to eyewitnesses, troops from various parts of the city started to move toward Tiananmen Square after midnight.

At about 2 a.m., the first shots were fired three miles west of the square. "Advancing soldiers had sprayed machine gun fire into alleyways," said an eyewitness.

By 3:15 a.m., students, chanting "Fascist, fascist, beast, beast," faced a line of helmeted soldiers sitting in the street in front of the Museum of Revolutionary History.

Suddenly, a woman of about 20, wearing a light-colored summer dress, jumped up from her place on the ground, and ran toward the soldiers, her arms in the air. She was followed by about six more students. All were cut down by bullets.

Soldiers and riot police then surrounded the square, boxing several thousand students and supporters inside. Thousands of others fled.

At 3:30 a.m., on the avenue near the Forbidden City, the ancient center for the Chinese government adjoining Tiananmen Square, several hundred soldiers knelt and fired hundreds of rounds into a great mass of demonstrators who had been driven about 100 yards down the main artery. A reporter for the Boston Globe saw at least eight persons killed and dozens wounded in the intense fusillade, which lasted more than five minutes.

'GIVE UP ALL HOPE'

In Tiananmen Square, student leaders urged the remaining protesters to leave. "You have to give up all hope," said one student message over their loudspeaker.

Some weeping protesters holding each other's hands began filing out. Some sang "The Internationale," the communist anthem. Others gave a V-for-victory sign as they marched past troops.

Armored personnel carriers entered the square at 4:30 a.m., and troops then began moving slowly toward several thousand students who remained clustered in the square.

Soldiers toting 30-round T-56 assault rifles emerged from the adjacent Great Hall of the People, the seat of the parliament, and massed on the front steps, according to eyewitnesses.

About 5 a.m., riot police and soldiers moved in, beating people in the crowd and forcing them to flee. Scores of tanks and dozens of troop transports rumbled into the square shortly after dawn firing .50-caliber machine guns.

INDECISION ENDED

The massacre shattered the illusion, strong in this widespread popular uprising, that the government would not use deadly force against the student demonstrators and their supporters who included workers, peasants, intellectuals, office workers, and journalists from practically every province in this vast nation.

And it ended two weeks of indecision on the part of a government wracked by an internal power struggle and even unsure, at least until Sunday morning, whether it could count on military to obey an order to rout the students.

On Saturday, students and supporters, armed with little more than words, had repulsed wave after wave of soldiers. But nonviolent resistance broke down as armored personnel carriers and troops firing tracer bullets moved into the square, and people took up sticks, rocks, and bottles and stood their ground.

It was a bitter climax to what had been a stirring episode of non-violent resistance.

Troops called out for martial law May 20 have repeatedly resisted orders to move against the students and turned back when met by thousands of protesters shouting, "The people are with the students," and "Don't you have a conscience?"

TIDE SEEMED TO TURN

The tide seemed to turn once more in the protesters' favor when a five-hour standoff outside the square between 3,000 troops and at least twice as many demonstrators ended with the apology and withdrawal of the relieved young troops, who were said to have been deliberately uninformed of the nature of their mission to Beijing.

That evening, the Beijing City Government Martial Law Administration in an emergency television broadcast ordered people to stay indoors and specifically not go to Tiananmen Square. The result, in an hour, was a crowd outside the square of several hundred thousand people.

About an hour after the government broadcast, a 40-year-old man who identified himself only as "a worker for the people," was one of the thousands out in the streets around Tiananmen Square.

"I come out every day about this time to take a walk and breathe fresh air," he said. "Isn't that a basic freedom?"

BASIC FREEDOMS

Basic freedoms were what the protest in Tiananmen Square were all about. Students first massed there after the April 15 death of Communist Party reformer Hu Yuobang, asking in his name freedom of the press and other democratic reforms.

The question of how best to deal with the students' demands turned into an intense power struggle within the Communist Party hierarchy between party chief Zhao Ziyang who favored compromise with the students and senior leader Deng Xiaoping, Premier Li Peng and others who took a hard line.

About 1,000 of the students began a hunger strike May 13—a tactic almost unheard of in this country where getting enough to eat is still an issue for millions. The students' bravery galvanized the nation and for a time even the government-controlled press and television gave the nation detailed reports of the condition of the strikers in the square.

On May 20, however, the government declared martial law in parts of Beijing and it became apparent that the power struggle was being resolved in favor of the hardliners.

One of the first places that martial law was successfully implemented was at the newspapers and broadcast stations, which ceased their unprecedented independent news coverage of the uprising.

When troops first tried to move into the city May 20, they were blocked by thousands of citizens.

Under the slogan, "The Peoples Army Cannot Move Against the People," crowds stood in front of tanks and told the soldiers about their protest for democracy. "The citizens of Beijing will fight to the death to defend the students," a middle-aged woman said last week.

© SPICE

handout #6

On Sunday, that vow was tested, tragically. Not until soldiers turned their guns directly on the demonstrators did they break ranks and run—but then they reassembled again and again to confront the troops.

Group Task

Compare the words used in the article from the U.S. newspaper with the article from the Chinese newspaper. Are there words that represent the same group or event but differ in their meanings and/or implications? For example, what are some of the differences between a "massacre" and a "riot?" Do the editors in your group agree with the point of view of the other country's newspaper?

CHINA'S USE OF FORCE DEPLORED BY UNO

JAPAN TIMES, JUNE 8, 1989

Prime Minister Sousuke Uno, referring to the armed suppression of pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing, told the Diet Wednesday it was extremely regrettable that troops had fired on their fellow citizens.

However, he stopped short of openly condemning the Chinese leadership for taking military action.

"As the situation of the country is in a state of confusion, with the government, troops and students involved, I'd rather avoid making a black-and-white judgment," he said.

To justify his reticence, he cited the special nature of Sino-Japanese relations, which are still overshadowed by the war.

Because of Japan's military aggression against China during World War II, government leaders often avoid making remarks that may be seen by the Chinese as interference in their internal affairs, a government source explained.

Follow-Up and/or Homework Activities

Carefully read through the following activities. Your teacher will assign one or more as a follow-up or homework assignment.

1. Write two articles, consisting of a headline and two to three paragraphs each, about one current international event or issue. The two articles should be written with contrasting points of view. In addition to the use of conflicting terminology (for example conqueror/liberator, freedom-fighter/terrorist), consider the role of symbols and subtle differences in the description of scenes or events. For example, U.S. newspaper reports on the June 4, 1989, events in Tiananmen Square often mentioned the Chinese "Goddess of Democracy," a replica of the Statue of Liberty made by students protesting in Tiananmen Square. When writing your articles, consider how references to national or cultural symbols might influence a reader's response to a description. In addition, sometimes a journalist describes physical aspects of a scene where an event took place through metaphors—for example, "a gloomy and gray sky" or "dark shadow." Consider how these details might influence the tone of the articles you write.
2. Find an article in a recent newspaper that describes a conflictual event involving two different countries. Consider the words chosen by the journalist to describe the situation and circle those that you feel might be biased. Consider the following questions as you read through the article and write a three to four paragraph essay based on three or more of these questions:
   - Do you think the journalist sympathizes with one side more than the other?
   - Does the journalist make any reference to objects, images, or physical descriptions of a scene or event that might influence the tone of the article?
   - Who is quoted in the article?
   - Do the sources upon which the journalist bases the article influence the information that is presented?
   - Can you think of information that might have been intentionally left out of the article?
   - Does the journalist try to incorporate views from both sides of the conflict?
   - Is the headline objective?
   - Are there any references to historical episodes that influence the relations between the two countries?
   - How might this event complicate policymaking between the two countries in the future?
   - Why might the journalist offer the interpretation(s) that he/she does? Do you agree with it?
3. Read the article on the next page. Write a response to the article from a Chinese point of view.

handout #7

NEW TOKYO MINISTER CALLS 'RAPE OF NANKING' A FABRICATION

THE NEW YORK TIMES *INTERNATIONAL*, THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1994.

BY DAVID E. SANGER
SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES

TOKYO, May 4—A senior minister in Japan's new Government has dealt a blow to his country's efforts to heal the wounds of World War II by declaring this week that the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Chinese at Nanjing (then Nanking) in 1937, widely viewed as one of Japan's most infamous war crimes, was a "fabrication."

The official, Shigeto Nagano, the new Justice Minister and a former chief of staff of the army, also criticized former Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa for terming Japan's invasions in Asia as "a war of aggression." In an interview with the Mainichi Shimbun, one of the country's largest newspapers, Mr. Nagano repeated a longtime claim of Japanese nationalists and rightists: that Japan was "liberating" Asian countries from Western colonial powers.

Mr. Nagano is known as a conservative, and his appointment as Justice Minister was unusual because no other Japanese general, active or retired, has taken a Cabinet post since the end of World War II. But his comments today were surprising because Mr. Hata repeatedly talked about the need to apologize for Japan's wartime aggression during the campaign last summer that led to the ouster of the long-governing Liberal Democratic Party. Last week his Foreign Minister, Koji Kakizawa, said "we feel the pains suffered by people in Asia and neighboring countries" in the war, and termed Japan's conquests as act of aggression.

Mr. Nagano, who is 71, was a member of the Liberal Democratic Party until he defected last year with Mr. Hata, who heads the Japan Renewal Party. Mr. Nagano has been a member of Parliament since shortly after his retirement from the top army post in 1980.

The vast majority of historians who have studied the Nanjing Massacre, also known as the Rape of Nanking, which started in December 1937 and continued for six weeks, say that more than 150,000 civilians were killed as the Japanese Army invaded the city. The Chinese put the figure at 300,000. More than 20,000 women were believed to have been raped, and much of the city was burned. At the Tokyo war crimes trials in 1948, the commander of the Japanese forces at Nanjing was sentenced to death.

But the right wing has long argued that the event never happened, and used its influence to keep references to it out of Japanese school textbooks for years. Only recently have explicit references been included.

In his interview, Mr. Nagano said, "I believe that the Nanjing Massacre and the rest is a fabrication." He said he was a soldier in the Imperial Army at the time, and visited Nanjing "directly afterward" in 1938.

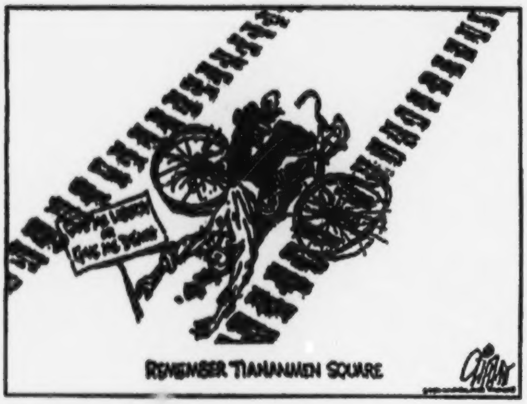
He also said Mr. Hosokawa's description of Japan's action in World War II as a war of aggression, which was widely hailed in Asia as a major step toward acknowledging the country's wrongdoing, was a mistake.

"It's wrong to call this war a war of aggression," he told the newspaper. "It's wrong to say it was waged with the aim of aggression. We were seriously thinking about the liberation of the colonies and the Co-Prosperity Sphere." That was a reference to Japan's territories in Asia, which Tokyo called the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere.

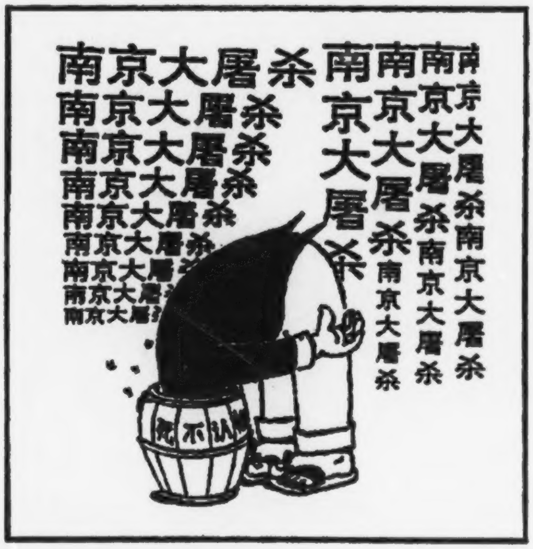
The comments seemed bound to embarrass the Government of Prime Minister Tsutomu Hata, which was formed just a week ago. But they also underscored the fact that Mr. Hata has filled many of his top Cabinet posts with officials who are far more conservative than those who served under Mr. Hosokawa.

Several Cabinet members have spoken openly about the need to amend or reinterpret the Constitution to permit the country to send its troops abroad as part of "collective security" forces. Senior politicians say the Government is already preparing legislation that would permit Japan to take part in a naval blockade or other sanctions against North Korea if the confrontation over the North's nuclear weapon's project worsens in coming months.

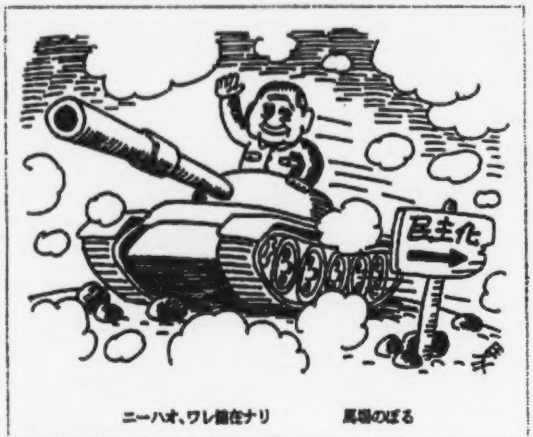
4. Examine the following political cartoons. Cartoon #1 is from *The Boston Globe*, June 7, 1989 (United States); #2 is from *The China Daily*, June 1989 (China); and #3 is from *The Yomiuri Shimbun*, June 11, 1989 (Japan). Describe the differences and/or similarities between them.


REMEMBER TIANANMEN SQUARE

#1: *Remember Tiananmen Square*


南京大屠杀
南京大屠杀
南京大屠杀
南京大屠杀
南京大屠杀
死不认错

#2: *The Deformed Ostrich*
The Nanjing Massacre (in background)
Dying before admitting a fault (on barrel)
[Note: The person in this cartoon is supposed to be Japanese.]


民主化
ニーハオ、ワレ健在ナリ
馬場のぼる

#3: *Hello. I'm healthy.*
Democracy (on sign)

Lesson 2

CHINA'S POLITICAL SITUATION

A READERS' THEATER IN TWO PARTS

Organizing Questions

- What historical conditions set the foundation for China's current political situation?
- How do the reforms in China's socialist system affect various groups of people in China differently?
- How have politics in China influenced foreign policy with the United States?

Introduction

Through participation in a readers' theater, students will be introduced to China's political history since 1949, the year the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), led by Chairman Mao Zedong, won the civil war against General Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party (KMT). The readers' theater is presented in two parts. In part one, student observers of the readers' theater play the role of journalists who focus their attention on one of four key questions. In part two, student observers of the readers' theater interview student readers about aspects of the lives of each of the characters.

Objectives

knowledge

- to learn about China's political history since 1949
- to understand the various experiences of different groups of people in Chinese society
- to consider ways in which domestic politics influence policies with other countries
- to discern various aspects of sovereignty that have influenced China's political history

attitude

- to appreciate the historical conditions that set the stage for political events and processes
- to develop the ability to see events from different points of view
- to understand the complexities of domestic and international policymaking

skill

- to listen effectively and critically to various points of view
- to practice interviewing skills

Materials

- Readers' Theater List of Characters, one per student
- Readers' Theater: Part 1, 12 copies
- Readers' Theater: Part Two, 12 copies
- Handout #1: Journalist's Notebook, one per student
- Handout #2: Personal Background Sheet for Masa and Robin
- Handout #3: Personal Background Sheet for Chinese Characters in the readers' theater

(See Procedures Part 2, #2, to determine number of copies needed for Handouts #2 and #3.)

In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), led by Chairman Mao Zedong, won the civil war against General Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Party (KMT).

After decades of fighting, the Nationalists fled to Taiwan, an island off the coast of southern China, and Mao proclaimed victory and the communist liberation of China. In 1949, Mao founded the new People's Republic of China. From 1949 to 1976, Mao fought to bring socialism to the Chinese masses to alleviate them from centuries of imperialism, poverty, and war. Together the Chinese worked to advance China to the ranks of powerful, developed nations. Maoists policies brought hope, progress, disaster, and tragedy to the lives of the most populous nation on earth.

Two years after Mao's death in 1976, Deng Xiaoping assumed power and in 1978 inaugurated economic reforms to develop China's economy. Deng's reforms have introduced market forces know in Western capitalistic systems, contradicting many socialist tenets. As communist regimes fell in other parts of the world in the late 1980s and early 1990s, China's economy flourished. Amid the rapid economic changes, political expectations and social tensions rose. Following Deng's military crackdown on the 1989 student protests in Tiananmen Square, the government has continued to implement market reforms while maintaining tight political reins. Viewing development and stability as more important than political freedom and individual rights, Deng's generation of leaders carefully seeks to consolidate and pass on the Party's political control to the next generation of leaders. In the absence of formal electoral procedures for the succession of leadership in China, China's future political course remains uncertain. Inevitably, the Chinese government will have to reconcile socialist ideology with market forces and global trends.

Procedure Part 1

1. Give students a brief overview of China's political history since 1949, provided as background for the teacher on this page.
2. Select 12 students to play the roles of the characters in a readers' theater that highlight various experiences of different groups of people in Chinese society. Invite them to come before the class. Distribute copies of the Readers' Theater Script: Part 1 to these 12 students.
3. Inform the remaining students in the class that they will play the role of journalists. Depending on the number of remaining students, assign groups of two or three student journalists one of the four focus questions (listed on the next page) to consider while listening to the readers' theater. Distribute Handout #1, Journalist's Notebook, to each journalist. The journalists may record notes in their notebook to which they can refer when answering their particular focus question. Following the readers' theater, the small groups of journalists will be asked to report to the rest of the class.

Focus questions for the Readers' Theater Part 1:

- What were some of the conditions in China that set the foundation for Mao's socialist revolution?
- How did Mao believe the Chinese people could overcome the miseries of war and poverty, and modernize their country?
- Did Mao's communist revolution affect all different groups of people in China the same way? How were landlords treated? Peasants? Intellectuals? Fellow Party members? Were people in the cities treated the same way as people in the countryside?
- How did Mao, students, and the Chinese masses feel about foreign countries, particularly Japan and the United States? Why?

4. IMPORTANT: Before students begin reading, inform the class that the scripts were developed from a combination of articles and essays written by Chinese individuals while in China or after immigrating to the United States and by American historians of China. Excerpts from letters written in China then sent to the United States by electronic mail via computer were also used. Please emphasize that it is rare, however, that such a conversation as that which follows would take place in China today. Access to specific information about Mao's policies and movements continues to be limited as a result of censorship, insufficient education, and years of lost or imprecise data. Furthermore, many Chinese continue to be unaccustomed to speaking so openly about their country's political history.
5. The teacher may read or select a student to read the narrator's introduction to the readers' theater. Students playing the roles in part 1 may begin the dialogue.

6. Following the dialogue, ask the student readers to take their seats in order to listen to the journalists' responses to the focus questions.
7. Allow the groups of journalists a few minutes to organize their thoughts, then invite each group to share its responses with the class.

Part 2

1. Select 12 new students to play the roles of the characters in part 2 of the readers' theater. Invite them to come before the class. Distribute copies of the Readers' Theater Script: Part 2 to these 12 students.
2. Inform the remaining students in the class that this time, they will play the role of journalists. Following the reading of part 2 of the readers' theater, each journalist will have the opportunity to interview one of the individual characters. Assign each journalist a character to interview, and distribute the Personal Background Sheets (Handouts #2 or #3) to each journalist. Handout #2 is designed for the journalists who interview Masa or Robin; Handout #3 is designed for the journalists who interview the Chinese characters of the readers' theater. If extra students remain, have two or three students interview the same character. Distribute Handout #1, Journalist's Notebook, to each journalist to record notes during the readers' theater. These notes can be referred to during the interviews.
3. Students playing the roles in part 2 may begin the dialogue.
4. Following the dialogue, ask each journalist to name the character whom he or she will be interviewing. The characters may sit down next to the respective journalist(s) for the interview.
5. The journalists should ideally design questions to ask, or refer to the possible interview questions listed on the handouts. The journalist(s) and character can take a few minutes to review the questions together. The character can refer to the readers' theater script for information. Listed below are four possible questions for each handout.

   Handout #2: Possible interview questions for Masa and Robin

   - During your conversations with the Chinese characters, you heard many comments about people's lives before Mao's socialist revolution and after his death in 1976. Describe some of these.
   - How have Deng's reforms in China's socialist system affected some of the Chinese people's lives?
   - What were some of the Chinese characters' impressions of the United States and Japan?

- What are some of the differences and similarities between your country and contemporary China?

Handout #3: Possible interview questions for Chinese characters

- What was life like for you, or for people with jobs similar to your present job, before Mao's socialist revolution? In 1976, after the death of Mao?
- How have Deng's reforms in China's socialist system affected you and your family?
- As you grew up, what were your impressions of the United States and Japan?
- How is your life different from another character's?

6. Allow as much time as possible for the interview. Following the interview, invite each journalist to introduce the character he/she interviewed and share the responses to the questions. It is important to have each character introduced to the class so that the students can appreciate the variety of answers and diversity of Chinese people.

Policy Study References

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China, *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*. New York; The Asia Society: 1992.

READERS' THEATER LIST OF CHARACTERS

(Note: Chinese and Japanese family names come before the personal names.)

Robin Jones	An American exchange student at Beijing University (male or female)
Takahashi Masa	A Japanese exchange student at Beijing University (male)
Fan Yi Song	Chinese science student at Beijing University (male or female)
Wang Zhu Hua	Born before Liberation (Mao's communist victory in 1949), a peasant who grew up in poverty then joined the Long March in the 1930s when Communist soldiers came to recruit people from her village (female)
Chen Li Hua	Born before Liberation, a peasant who was sold to work for her husband's family as a child until she ran away to join Mao's army (female)
Fan Qing	Fan Yi Song's older sister, a factory worker married with one child (female)
Liu Zhi Qiang	Fan Yi Song's fellow university student, an older graduate student
Ruan Mei Gui	Fan Yi Song's mother, a factory worker in her younger life, a farmer during the reforms
Fan Jian Guo	Fan Yi Song's father, a peasant in his younger life, a migrant worker in the city during the reform period. (Note: children born during Mao's revolution were often given revolutionary names. *Jian* means "to build," and *guo* means "country." *Fan* is the family surname.)
Liu Wei	A peasant farmer (male)
Huang Xiao Hong	A peasant born during the 1950s, who now works in a township village enterprise (female)
Mo Li Hua	A private entrepreneur (female)

© SPICE

READERS' THEATER:
PART 1

Narrator	Robin is an American exchange student in China, and Masa is an exchange student from Japan. In order to study the Chinese language and learn more about China's culture, they both enrolled in an exchange student program in the capital of China, Beijing. One day, a Chinese friend, Fan Yi Song, invited Robin and Masa to go sightseeing with friends and family. After visiting Tiananmen Square and the Imperial Palace, Robin and Masa had many questions about China's political history.
Robin	Wow! That palace is huge!
Fan Yi Song	It actually used to be considered a city, the Forbidden City. When the emperors ruled China, common people were forbidden to enter, or they'd be killed! The emperors were Chinese kings, and the reign of their family was called a dynasty. Emperors ruled China for thousands of years. For centuries, China was the world's most advanced civilization.
Masa	Really? When did the last dynasty fall?
Fan Yi Song	The last dynasty fell in 1911. Chinese warlords fought for control over different parts of China. Then, in 1937, the Japanese invaded China. Meanwhile, the Nationalist Party—the government in control of China during this chaotic time—was being fought by the new Communist Party! The fighting didn't end until 1949!
Robin	What a violent time!
Wang Zhu Hua	You're telling me! This happened in my lifetime! And this is not the *least* of it!
Masa	What *else* happened? Wang Zhu ("*Jue*") Hua, please tell us more about your life.
Wang Zhu Hua	I was born into a very poor family. A baby girl was too expensive for a poor family like mine to raise. There was no choice but to sell, kill, or marry me off to another family who could afford to feed me. You see, when I grew up, my family knew I would move to my husband's village and become a member of his family. This was a Chinese tradition. If I was going to work for someone else once I was old

enough to be productive, why should my first family invest food and education in me?

So, in the worst of my family's poverty, my parents sold me into marriage as a child bride before I was even one-year old. I was sold for eight copper coins.

Robin Really? You were sold? Who were you sold to?

Wang Zhu Hua My new family was quite poor, as well. They bought me to be a family worker more than to marry their son. My work was hard, and my life was miserable. Every day, I had to get up in the morning and fetch water for many families, which I had to carry in heavy baskets on bamboo poles over my shoulder. Then I had to take the ox out to graze, and while the ox was eating, I had to work fast to gather kindling and cut the grass by hand. When I came home exhausted, I then helped my "mother-in-law" cook dinner and clean. If I didn't do this, my "husband's" parents would beat me. After everyone else ate, I was allowed to eat potato leaves mixed with water and any leftover rice stuck to the pot. I always went to bed, on the floor, feeling so cold and hungry.

Masa What a terrible life. Were these conditions common? Was your life like that too, Chen Li Hua?

Chen Li Hua Actually, it was quite similar. My birth mom had two daughters, sold them, then had me. Her family was destitute and could only afford to raise one child. My mother kept hoping to have a son, because a son would bring a wife into the parents' family, bring grandchildren into the home, and take care of the grandparents into old age. A daughter, however, would marry into her husband's family and leave her parents alone in old age. So when I was born, my mom knew she had to leave me to die or I would have to be sold. Like Wang Zhu ("*Jue*") Hua, my father sold me when I was a young girl.

Robin Was your daily life similar to Wang Zhu ("*Jue*") Hua's too?

Chen Li Hua My "father-in-law" bought me because the family needed a girl to do the household work and help with the farming. I was called a "child-wife" but I didn't know which of the sons was supposed to be my "husband." I worked from dawn until late at night for the family, slept on shabby palm leaves on the stone floor, and only ate the family's meager leftovers. I didn't know how to read; I didn't even have a name. Everyone just called me "Old Chen's Daughter."

But, now that I look back, if I hadn't been sold to a family in another village, I may never have joined the revolution! My old village was small and in the mountains. My new family's village was larger, closer to the Communist soldiers' camps, and more open to the communist ideas.

Masa

What revolution? And who were the Communist soldiers?

Wang Zhu Hua

When the first soldiers from the Communist Army came to my village, they came to our house to tell us about their revolution. But I couldn't let them in.

Robin

Why not?

Wang Zhu Hua

Because I didn't have any pants on. Our family could only afford to buy one pair of pants and my father had to wear them into town that day. The soldiers left, and then came back with several pairs of pants and gave them to us!

Masa

Wow, it sounds like China was really poor at this time. What did they tell you about their revolution? Would it help with your poverty?

Wang Zhu Hua

They said the soldiers were establishing literacy schools, and that these "schools" were free and even open to girls! I always wished I could learn how to read and write! I tried to sneak to some of their classes, but once I got caught, and my "parents-in-law" threatened to beat me if I left my work again. That night I ran all the way to a meeting the soldiers were holding near my town and begged them to let me join their Army. They let me!

And that night, after I filled out some papers, I had a bath in a basin of water; and then the soldiers gave me some new clothes, three bowls of meat and vegetables, and four bowls of rice! I had never been given so much food: I almost burst! For me, their revolution was about having enough food to eat, clothes to wear, and a safe place where nobody beat me. The Communists said they were fighting to help all the other poor peasants in China.

Chen Li Hua

And they did! The soldiers also set up a local Communist government in *my* village, and organized new groups like the Children's Corps, the Young Pioneers, and the Women's Unit. I joined the Women's Unit all by myself. The soldiers talked to us about making laws that promised women equality with men, the freedom to choose our own husbands, and the right to an education! My new friends even helped me choose my own name: *Li* means "pretty," and *Hua* means "China." The Communists gave me the chance to have a new life!

Robin The Communist soldiers set up local governments and organizations? Did they control China? What about the warlords, the Japanese, and the Nationalist Party?

Wang Zhu Hua No, the Communists didn't control China until 1949, when the Communists finally drove the Nationalist Party out of China and declared a communist victory! But when I joined the Communist Army, in 1934, we were under attack by the Nationalist Army! We were at our bases in the south of China, so the only way we could retreat away from the Nationalists was by leaving late at night and marching west, then north, then west, then north again. We marched and marched, constantly trying to defend ourselves from the Nationalists. We marched 1,000 miles! This became known as the Long March. I helped carry stretchers, cook for the army, and think of new speeches to tell the peasants when we marched through their villages to spread propaganda about the revolution. When it was safe, I went into the villages and told poor peasants all the good things the Communists were trying to do. That way, I recruited new soldiers.

Liu Wei Right! That's exactly how the Communist soldiers came to *my* village. Our village was poor, even though we tried to grow all sorts of crops: rice, fruit, sugarcane, peanuts, beans, and vegetables. Some people raised pigs and wove bamboo shrimp traps, too. But our land was marshy and got flooded by high rivers almost every year, that is, if it wasn't already destroyed by soldiers fighting the civil war. And we didn't have any modern medical care, so often people died from minor illnesses. So in my village, the death rate was very high. We had no decent schools. And, of course, there was no national disaster relief agency to prevent people in our village from starving to death.

Masa If you farmed, why would you starve? What about all the food you grew?

Liu Wei You see, there wasn't enough land to support all the people in our village who needed to eat. Most land that *was* available was owned by landlords. Most peasants couldn't afford their our own land, and so we had to rent plots to farm from the rich landlords. Our plots of land were too small to take advantage of any mechanized, modern farming techniques. Our technology was very primitive, and irrigation

© SPICE

was poor. We didn't have any canals to protect the fields from flooding.

Masa Then how did you pay the rent for your land?

Liu Wei For rent? The landlords would take half, if not more, of the entire rice crop we harvested on the land. What was left was not enough to feed our families. But we had no choice: to survive many poor people in the village had to work on the landlords' land. The landlords controlled the whole village and markets, and even had their own small army that they used to make sure they all got their rent payments from the poor peasants. The only other main option for poor farmers to survive was to leave the village and find a job in a faraway city.

Robin So then, what did the Communist soldiers say when they came to your village? How could they help you?

Liu Wei They said they came to *liberate* us! They promised all the poor farmers that they would establish a new way of life, take the land away from the landlords, and redistribute it equally among all the landless peasants. Because my family was poor and we rented a meager plot, we had nothing to lose by going along with their revolution. The new government sent song and dance propaganda troupes to our village to explain the Communist party and its programs. Most of the people in the village supported the new government; 80 percent of the village's population was made up of landless, poor peasants.

Masa What about the people in your village who *weren't* poor peasants?

Liu Wei The wealthier people and landlords certainly were nervous. The Communist soldiers recruited the poorest peasants, slaves, and landless laborers in the village to become members of the newly established Communist Party branch in our village. Then they brought the landlords, who had already been arrested by the soldiers, to a stage made up of old tables outside. All the villages' poor peasants were told to come criticize their landlords by telling the new Communist government what crimes the landlords had committed against the common people. Thousands of peasants came to watch. The Communists shot the meanest and most brutal landlords and put the others in jail.

Robin Really? Your landlord was shot?

Liu Wei Yes. You see, the Communists made many of the peasants testify against their landlord, even though at first we were scared that the landlords would get their power back and take revenge. But the Communists educated us about the unfair and cruel labor system of "old China," and explained the revolution they were fighting to change it. They told us that we, the peasants, had to organize ourselves and participate in the revolution to build "New China"! First, the new government collected the landlords' land and houses, and divided it up among the peasants. Then the new government studied all the villagers' backgrounds and announced which official class status each family came from. Anyone left in the village with a landlord or rich landowner family background became despised by the now more powerful and "revolutionary" peasants.

Masa That's what the Communists did—took land from the rich landlords and gave it to the poor peasants?

Liu Wei Well, at first, but the new government became worried that the new peasant leaders who had been given land, food, housing, and power eventually would become just like the old landlords. And the old landlords, who had their land taken away by the Communists, would become poor, landless peasants. Then the cycle of unfair labor—poor peasants working for rich landlords—would begin again.

Robin Then what exactly *did* the Communists want the revolution to do?

Liu Wei You see, the Communists wanted to create an equal society, a society that would work together to develop China, not to develop their individual lives.

Remember, China had been humiliated by foreigners and poverty. The Communists wanted to build China into a self-reliant country. Everyone would get rich together...if they cooperated and sacrificed until modernization was reached! This is what the Communist Party said. Chairman Mao Zedong was the leader. Many Chinese still consider him the savior of China.

Masa I've seen pictures and statues of him all over Beijing!

Liu Wei That's why Chairman Mao told the local Party branches to organize three to four families into farming groups. We had to share our tools, and plant and harvest our crops together. This made us more equal. And over time, the farming groups got bigger and bigger! More families joined, and we formed "collectives," then collectives joined together, and we formed "communes." Communes had over 20,000 people in them! We joined our land together so we could work more efficiently on bigger pieces of land. All the peasants were divided into work teams, and every day our team leaders told us which job we had to do: planting, fixing the bridge, digging canals, or tending to animals. There were almost 300 people on each team. We believed that we would all do better this way: we would produce more food and make more money. Most importantly, China would develop quickly, and become a strong and modern country!

Ruan Mei Gui

I worked in a farming team, Farming Team Number 4, one of the smallest teams in the commune. I was elected the team leader, although I wasn't a Party member. Every morning and evening announcements were made over the village's public loudspeakers. For example, one night the local Party leaders announced: "Attention, attention, all brigade members. Tomorrow morning at 10:00 a.m. there will be an important mass meeting. We will relay the latest instructions from the higher levels to you, so everyone must attend and be punctual." Chairman Mao was the leader of the Party. He lived in the capital of Beijing. When the team leaders helped set up for the meetings, I helped hang up huge pictures of Chairman Mao and posters that read: "Long live Chairman Mao" and "Long live the Communist Party of China." Once everyone showed up, we would sing songs about Mao, and read quotations from his little red book that taught us all about the revolution.

Robin

Did you have a lot of meetings?

Ruan Mei Gui

We had meetings all the time.

After a while, the meeting would drag on and on. The different team secretaries would give reports, quote Chairman Mao some more, and then talk about all the achievements of each team and their contributions to the growth of China. Over time, all the speeches began to sound the same. No one paid that much attention.

Fan Jian Guo

No one paid that much attention...unless the tone changed. Then everyone would listen very carefully! "While our achievements may be many," the Party secretary might say, "there are problems and shortcomings that must be resolved." This is when the secretary would announce a new campaign relayed from Beijing. For example "Learn from Dazhai (*da-juy*)!" was a slogan that was plastered all over the village following a meeting. Dazhai was a model upheld for its virtues of hard work, correct revolutionary politics, and unselfish values. Our teams were told to strive to be a model like Dazhai.

Masa What else did you talk about at these political meetings?

Ruan Mei Gui Sometimes people would leave those meetings really upset! At the meetings, announcements about new farming or livestock raising techniques were made. We were told that the new policies would benefit production. For example, one time my team was told it had to merge with yet another team so we could pool together our equipment and farm an even larger piece of land. We were told this would increase production. But meanwhile, each team already had a separate leader, accountant, and list of other positions and jobs. Merging the two teams together meant that some people would lose their position, and the new leaders might favor farmers in their old team more than farmers from the new team and give them better jobs. Many of us were afraid that if the teams merged, our working conditions would get worse. Also, one family in my team hadn't gotten along with another family on the other team for generations. We were worried that the old family rivalries might affect team performance. Mao's ideas, in theory, were one thing, but in reality quite another!

Robin What happened?

Fan Jian Guo At the meeting, when the Party secretary asked if anyone had any issues to raise about the merger, everyone hesitated to speak out against Party policy. Chairman Mao said bigger teams were better. No one said anything at the big meeting, but when we met with our individual teams later, we all talked about the potential problems and worries. We did end up merging, because we all thought in the end, increased production would increase our income. So, in the end, we figured as long our income increased, we could handle the merge.

Liu Wei Yes, but what did they know in Beijing? The national government would tell our local leaders to try a new farming technique. But *we* knew the best way to farm because we had come from generations of farmers. The government *thought* it knew best. If I tried to challenge Mao's new policy, I might be accused of not believing in the revolution! I had to have faith that we were trying a new way of farming, on a *huge* level. Besides, if we didn't work, we didn't eat. We were given food according to how hard and enthusiastically we worked. Our team and Party leaders judged us.

Chen Li Hua Yes, he's right. One of my daughters starved to death in the late 1950s. Things were changing very quickly. Our family had to join a commune where we lived with a lot of other people. The living complex had a cafeteria and a child care center, so I was able to go work out in the fields without my children. The Party told us to make steel factories in our field, so we could contribute to China's modernization. But since we did this, we didn't have enough food to harvest. We were all very excited about China's development. We studied Chairman Mao's book and speeches carefully. But a lot of Chinese starved during those years.

Liu Wei Sometimes the local leaders felt so much pressure to help the revolution, they lied about how much grain we had harvested. Because the new government had given us our land, tools, clothes, and seed, we had to give a proportion of our harvest to the government to share with the rest of China. So when local leaders lied about how much we had harvested, the national government believed us, and took its share of our harvest accordingly. As a result, there wasn't enough left over to feed people in our own commune!

Masa I have heard about this time. This was the late 1950s and early 1960s, right?

Liu Wei Right. Hundreds of people in our commune starved to death, thousands and thousands of people throughout China. For a variety of reasons, some people harvested better crops than others, or felt that they worked harder than others. Then they resented the government for taking so much of the harvest away to redistribute equally throughout China. But meanwhile, despite all these changes, new policies, and bigger plots of land, we weren't getting that much richer. So it became harder and harder to care about working our best when we knew we wouldn't get to keep the extra food, but would have to give it away to people who didn't harvest enough.

Fan Jian Guo My family also had some really hard years following the move from individual family plots to the commune system. We had to eat leaves and bark to keep from starving to death. But we survived those years, physically as well as politically. My family followed the instructions of the Party and brigade leaders, worked hard, and was careful not to get involved in trivial political matters or rivalries. We wanted socialism to work, even when we felt that some of the policies that changed the way we were farming weren't working effectively. We were patient for a long time and, for the most part, our lives slowly did get better. But it wasn't until the reforms began under Deng that China really started to become a rich and powerful country.

Wang Zhu Hua Yes, slowly life *did* get better, and the revolution went on. We all got our share of what we produced, which wasn't always a lot, but we knew we would keep developing, China would get richer, and someday we would all have more than enough. But as I got older, that never happened. It was hard working as one big group. Everyone was trying to be a good Communist. If you didn't act like a Communist, then your neighbor could accuse you of not believing in the revolution. You could be publicly humiliated if the local Party leaders thought you should be punished and re-educated in Chairman Mao's thought. Almost everyone had a copy of his little red book.

Liu Zhi Qiang You think *you* risked being punished? What about the intellectuals?

Masa What do you mean? Was your life very different from the peasants?

Liu Zhi Qiang Well, yes! I was a student—an intellectual. I was born in 1944, so I was only a young child when the Communists won the civil war against the Nationalists in 1949, and liberated China. My family lived near a small city, and my parents worked at a cement factory. I went to an elementary and secondary school that the Party established. I learned how to read there, studied math, and carefully memorized Chairman Mao's speeches about socialism. Like my friend here today, my classmates and I were told that before the Communists liberated us, China used to be a backward country. We were taught that Communism was going to develop China into a great, modern country. I wanted to study hard so I could help China progress technologically. I passed the exam to enter a university and study chemistry.

Robin Did you participate in the revolution?

Liu Zhi Qiang I learned quickly that Mao was more concerned about maintaining political loyalty than cultivating educated experts to carry out the socialist revolution. Anyone who challenged Mao or the Communist party's policies could be considered an enemy of the revolution, put in jail, or, during the many extreme political movements, executed. Mao was afraid that others, especially educated experts, might analyze and challenge his revolutionary policies, and threaten his power.

Masa Why would they?

Liu Zhi Qiang According to Chairman Mao, intellectuals were elitist—they acted superior to the masses and were influenced by the ideas of foreign scholars and theories irrelevant to the basic level of living endured by common Chinese. Also, as you have heard my friends tell you today, following the move into big communes, a lot of people starved. Of course people were going to question the effectiveness of the new policies! For these reasons, the Party felt intellectuals needed to be carefully watched; they needed to have their outlook remolded by socialist thought in order to understand how to serve China and the Chinese people.

Robin So the intellectuals were punished?

Liu Zhi Qiang Well, China's Communist party leaders also realized that China needed the guidance and knowledge of the educated experts in order to develop technologically. So, in the 1950s, Mao told China's intellectuals that they were free to express their views of the socialist revolution. Suspicious at first, but encouraged by Mao, the intellectuals criticized the Party's policy toward intellectuals, the corrupt Party officials, and the failure of many Party policies.

Robin Please...go on.

Liu Zhi Qiang Instead of letting the intellectuals' thoughts continue to bloom, Mao used the opportunity to recognize and pluck the "bad weeds" out of the new, socialist society. Mao's wife, Jiang Qing, personally presided over a massive purge of artists, writers, and other intellectuals, making it clear that, from now on, the work, thoughts, and art of intellectuals could *only* express and support the Party's objectives. Many intellectuals were killed or sent to the countryside to reform their thinking through hard labor.

Masa When did all this happen?

Liu Zhi Qiang In 1966. The entire education system came under attack. The "Cultural Revolution" was introduced to destroy all traditions, symbols, and remnants of China's past, and replace them with new, socialist ideals—to revolutionize China's culture! In the countryside, young students called "Red Guards" shattered old statues and temples of ancient philosophers like Confucius, who believed society should be structured by hierarchical relationships between people. Because he contradicted the socialist ideals of equality, everything Confucian had to be destroyed.

Robin Were you involved? What happened to *you*?

Liu Zhi Qiang When the Cultural Revolution began, the universities suddenly became full of chaos and closed down. I was a twenty-two-year-old university student, in my third year of my chemistry major. Party and Youth League members put up big posters that attacked teachers, especially those who had poor political attitudes, like the teachers who didn't talk about Chairman Mao's thought in any of their lectures, had a lot of foreign books, or had a family history of intellectual elitism. More radical students, encouraged by Mao to join the Red Guards, criticized fellow Party members and less-revolutionary students in addition to their teachers and professors. Nobody could trust anyone else. If anyone dared to defend a victim, he or she would be accused of being counter-revolutionary, too. Some teachers and professors were beaten to death; others committed suicide to escape the chaos.

Masa My gosh! Killed? What about the rest?

Liu Zhi Qiang Within six months, we locked up all the university department heads, professors, and lecturers. Every day we forced them to listen to us read quotations of Chairman Mao, eat at the student dining halls instead at their fancy faculty lounges, clean the student bathrooms, and carry out the waste for farmers to use as fertilizer. They had to write confessions admitting they had demeaned the Party and ignored socialism again and again until we were satisfied with their answers. And once a week we held "struggle meetings" where the dirty, soiled, and humiliated professors had to listen to fierce criticism in front of huge groups of people. "Down with the stinking intellectuals," everyone yelled.

Robin How awful!

Liu Zhi Qiang Yes... it was. And it really didn't happen very long ago! During the Cultural Revolution, millions of intellectuals were denounced and persecuted, and almost twenty million urban youths were banished to remote areas of the countryside to perform forced labor and reform their thinking. Few Chinese families escaped the ravages of the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution took over a million people's lives. Most people in China don't like to talk about that time, even to their own children.

Masa How did it end?

Liu Zhi Qiang Mao was worried about the violence and losing control of the revolution, so he called in the Army to restore order.

Robin So did the schools re-open, too?

Liu Zhi Qiang Yes. By 1970, universities began to re-open. The curriculum, student body, and teachers, however, were all different. A lot of emphasis was now put on political lessons and the practical skills China needed to develop. Some re-educated teachers returned from the countryside, but most did not, or were no longer alive. The new student body was drawn from revolutionary workers, peasants, and soldiers; their age and academic level wasn't as important as their political performance. Fearful of attracting criticism, teachers and textbook writers kept their academic discussion shallow. As a result, the level of education remained low. The socialists wanted to educate China's mostly rural population on a massive level. In the process, however, China's experts were killed or banished, leaving only inadequately trained students to try to modernize China. That is why the Cultural Revolution is called China's "lost ten years."

Huang Xiao Hong The Communists not only persecuted the intellectuals. Mao also ordered the Party to destroy all forms of private business, and punish those who tried to make an illegal profit.

Masa Why?

Huang Xiao Hong You see, the government was responsible for controlling the production of everything the Chinese people needed. That way, the government could make sure that no one could make a personal profit and, in the process, treat other workers unfairly. Mao wanted every person in China to work toward developing China into a modern and powerful country.

Fan Qing By controlling production, the government could decide what people could spend their energy and resources on producing and consuming. Only goods and services that would help further the revolution and provide the living essentials for China's impoverished masses were important. Mao wanted the standard of living to rise for all the workers at the same time. This way, everyone would be equal—free of jealousy, greed, and inferior or superior status.

Mo Li Hua Yes, I remember the huge campaigns Beijing introduced to educate us about the evils of personal gain and the importance of self-sacrifice for the development of China!

Robin What did the United States think about China during these times?

Mo Li Hua China had closed its doors to the rest of the world, except for Russia for a while, when the Communists liberated China in 1949. The revolutionaries bitterly opposed the West because it represented foreign imperialism and capitalism. Mao had filled the Chinese people with pride and nationalism. They wanted to build their country without having to accept foreign demands and corrupt ideas. China wanted to be self-reliant. So, China didn't have any diplomatic relations with any other countries (unless they were Communist, and even then there were some political barriers). No one was allowed to go into China, and the Chinese weren't allowed to leave.

Chen Li Hua Besides, the United States didn't approve of Chinese Communism either. The Soviet Union was communist, China was communist, as well as a lot of smaller countries. Because their systems were so different, capitalist countries and communist countries considered themselves enemies.

Masa Why did the Cultural Revolution end in 1976?

Fan Jian Guo That's the year Mao died. The year before he died, Chairman Mao wrote a poem about his concern over the next generation's commitment to Communism:

> Loyal parents who sacrificed for the nation
>   never feared the ultimate fate.
> Now that the country has become Red, ("Red" meant
>   "communist")
>   who will be its guardians?
> Our mission unfinished, may take a thousand years.
> The struggle tires us, our hair is gray.

You and I, old friend, can we just watch our efforts
being washed away?

Robin	Which efforts was Mao afraid of "being washed away?"
Fan Jian Guo	Remember the goals of the revolution? In order to heal China's deep wounds of war in the shortest possible time, and to provide 600 million desperately impoverished people with adequate food and clothing, Mao adopted a revolutionary model of nationalist development.
Masa	But meanwhile, 80 million people died unnatural deaths during Mao's era of power (from 1949 to 1976), more than the total lives taken by Hitler and Stalin combined! I realize Mao is a great man in the minds of many people, but many others consider him a monster!
Fan Qing	Many aspects of the Communists' revolution were catastrophic and tragic. But communism still did a great deal to help the Chinese people build a stronger country.
Chen Li Hua	Remember? I didn't even have a name.
Wang Zhu Hua	I didn't even have a pair of pants! My family had no land.
Ruan Mei Gui	In fact, the Communist Party led an industrial revolution, too. Before Mao came to power, the West considered China the industrial "sickman of Asia." By the end of Mao's life, China was among the top six of the largest industrial producers in the world! China's national income increased five times over what it had been before Mao came into power! And, due to the Party's determination to be self-reliant, China had no debts to other countries.
Masa	But did so many people have to suffer in the process?
Huang Xiao Hong	Mao taught us that China was a country led by the Party, and the Party represented the people—the majority of the people who were poor, uneducated peasants. Nobody, except class enemies—the former privileged classes of landlords and intellectual elites—had any reason to complain. So, according to Mao, those who did complain were class enemies. Why should people who were disloyal to Mao and the People's Revolution have rights granted by the government they oppose? In the United States, you may have freedom of speech and protest, but in China, Mao was trying to provide the most fundamental freedom of all—the right to survive. The Party's policies drastically improved the quality of life for more than one-fifth of humankind.

Chen Li Hua Despite the political excesses, Mao did make some substantial material and social gains for China. A largely illiterate population was transformed into a mostly literate one, a comprehensive national health care system was established for the first time, people were clothed, housed and employed, and the average life expectancy went from 35 years before Mao came into power, to 65 years, when Mao's era ended. And we're talking a lot of lives!

Fan Yi Song Our history is complicated. There is much that we ourselves do not know or understand. The history of the United States is very different from China's. The United States is a very young country, with no history of foreign invasion or of the extreme poverty and starvation experienced by many Chinese who are still alive today. I am a student. Every day I have to face the fact that many Chinese officials are corrupt and I can not enjoy the freedoms with which students like me in the United States are born. But only 3 percent of the Chinese population is lucky enough to pass the intense examinations to enter a university. The government almost subsidizes my education so that I may work to help build my country. Of course, like many university students, I want to go to the United States to study and learn about American culture. But I am also Chinese, and my country needs me. Is it fair for me, only one person, to criticize the government and possibly stir chaos and disorder which, in a large country like China, could cause tens of millions of people to suffer from famine again or even lose their lives?

Liu Zhi Qiang China has only 7 percent of the world's arable land and 22 percent of its population. The United States has 20 percent of the world's arable land, and only 5 percent of its population. Unless you try to understand China's history and conditions, it will be difficult for you to understand our political system.

© SPICE

READER'S THEATER
PART 2

Masa What happened after Mao died in 1976? Is that when Deng Xiaoping (*"She-ow ping"*) came to power?

Wang Zhu Hua Yes, Deng was the youngest of the old communist revolutionaries. He survived the Long March and was a comrade of Mao. Deng, however, thought Mao's policies were too extreme and that revolutionary politics were detracting from economic growth. Mao accused Deng of being a counter-revolutionary and purged him from the Party, twice. Deng's son had to jump out a window trying to escape Red Guards, and was paralyzed for life. So when Deng came into power, he wanted to calm the political atmosphere for a while so people could concentrate on their jobs and China's development.

Robin How did he calm the political atmosphere, especially following such an intense and chaotic time as the Cultural Revolution?

Wang Zhu Hua Deng reversed millions of verdicts that had denounced and persecuted intellectuals and banished urban youths to remote areas of the countryside. He even allowed students to start a democracy movement! And he stood up in front of the people of China and said, "It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white, just as long as it catches the mouse."

Robin Huh? What did Deng Xiaoping (*"She-ow ping"*) mean by that?

Fan Yi Song He meant that it doesn't matter if the method is communist or capitalist, just as long as it leads to China's modernization.

Robin Really? He didn't care about the communist revolution?

Mo Li Hua Well, not to the same extreme as Mao. Deng thought that some aspects of life should remain socialist and others not. In contrast to Mao's more radical views and policies, Deng promised social stability.

Masa Who was involved in the democracy movement?

Liu Zhi Qiang Mostly intellectuals. Students and teachers denounced the Cultural Revolution and past injustices and called for human rights, a better legal system, and a democratic political system. Our criticism of the government began to spread to big cities and provincial centers. We published unofficial journals, put posters up on city walls, and formed our own political organizations.

Robin What happened?

Liu Zhi Qiang Like Mao 20 years earlier, however, Deng didn't want the control of the Communist Party to be threatened so directly. So the government banned the journals and unofficial political groups, denounced us as criminals, and sent many of the democracy movement's leaders to labor camps. I spent five years in jail for putting up a poster on "democracy wall" in downtown Beijing.

Masa Five years for putting up a poster!

Liu Wei But on the other hand, the Party under Deng's leadership, gave people more control over their lives *economically*.

Robin How? Didn't they follow the orders of the government?

Liu Wei Deng believed that China's farmers would farm better if they were allowed to work for themselves instead of according to the government's rules and "blind orders from above."

Robin Why?

Liu Wei Because he thought farmers could make decisions better than the government in Beijing that were more relevant to the location of their land and according to the best methods they knew. More importantly, he allowed them to keep anything they harvested beyond what they gave to the government to sell on the open market! This way they could make money and keep it for themselves. If they had a profit incentive, then they would be motivated to work hard and efficiently!

Masa Didn't they have any incentives to work hard under the communist system?

Liu Wei Not any that would benefit the individual directly. Remember, the government tried to motivate people to work to help China develop into a great nation and to create a society of equal wealth. After decades of civil war followed by almost three decades of the communist revolution, we were *tired* of politics. And we *weren't* getting wealthy.

Mo Li Hua The people in my village finally started confronting the local leaders with a simple choice: ignore some of the government's policies, let us make money, and share in our profits, or step aside. Of course, no one said this so directly. In the past, people could be punished, even killed, for going against the Party. We've told you many of our stories. But the atmosphere started changing, especially once Deng was in power. And many of the local officials wanted to make money and prosper, too. And because the officials run the local government, the better a village business does, the more money the officials can try to collect in the form of taxes, fees, and bribes.

Masa But I thought the Communists Party wanted to prevent some people from getting richer than others. Otherwise, China would end up with a rich class and a poor class, and no equality. Isn't that what the Communists had been fighting to destroy?

Liu Wei Well, yes, but now the Party tells us that it is important to develop a wealthy class in order to accelerate the development of our country. Now we are rewarded for our individual effort, and can disregard the idea of "equality." The Party says, for now, income gaps between individuals and rich and poor regions are inevitable. The new "revolution" is about becoming rich and developed, but it's *not* about sharing the wealth.

Robin Do you like it better this way?

Liu Wei On one hand, it is easier to farm, and my family *is* getting richer. On the other, we don't all come together in our village to fix our canals, build bridges, or support child care centers and clinics. Our money used to go to the local government for that; now it just goes to us. Some people are getting poorer, and have no job or land of their own. Others are becoming millionaires.

Chen Li Hua That's right. In the late 1970s, when Deng became China's leader, he officially allowed us to start farming as a single family again, on a small plot of land. The government also allowed us to sell some of our extra vegetables at the nearest town. We started getting rich too! My son built a new section on our house. My daughter works in the city. She works in a department store where they sell all sorts of new, modern things, like rice cookers, televisions, fancy clothes, lipstick, and a lot of expensive foreign products that I've never tried. There are so many new things to buy and do. They are expensive though! And lots of rich people don't care about people who still have poor lives. They don't want a communist revolution again, and they don't want to share their profits with their neighbors. People in China are tired of politics. Now people want to use money to make China develop. If people have enough money, they can be a part of New China. This is how it is now.

Masa What about the government? What does the government do now?

Fan Jian Guo My village holds elections for village chiefs and our eight-person village committee or Communist party branch—the village's two main grass-roots political bodies. But people who don't act like they support the Party could never "win" and, besides, most villagers don't want that job anyway: they're too busy trying to improve their lot. If they worked for the government, they would have to tell on their neighbors if a woman got pregnant with a second or third child, and worry about how to get more electric power and irrigation water to satisfy the growing demands of the economic reforms.

Robin Really? But China has a huge population, which is why the government developed the One-Child Policy. Don't you think it is important to regulate China's population so the government can provided enough food, housing, and land to support the Chinese people? I mean, a quarter of the world's population lives in China, and China is no bigger than the United States!

Fan Jian Guo Sure. And there are some good people who want to do good things for China, but it seems like most people care more about getting rich. One thing we do want is stability in the countryside and policies that permit us to sell our food at the market. If I get rich, I can buy anything, even a motorcycle. My father had to sell my younger two brothers to get enough money to make it through the difficult years of the '40s. Now I can think about buying my son (daughter), a Beijing University student, a stereo! And to think he (she) can play foreign pop songs on it! If I had done that in the 1960s, I would have been accused of being a counter-revolutionary and possible killed! No, I don't want to be involved in politics. I can't see any advantage in it. It isn't useful in improving my life in the village, or in the city.

Fan Yi Song Really, Dad, a stereo?

© SPICE

Fan Jian Guo	You see, Robin, I left the farm to work in a more lucrative job in the city. I only spend a few days in the field each year. My decision to go to the city to find work that pays higher wages than working with my wife on the farm was important for my family's prosperity. I've earned enough working seven days a week at the sheet metal factory to build a brick house with a tiled roof back home in the village. I have also helped pay for my son's (daughter's) education and other family expenses so my son (daughter) doesn't have to come back to the farm to help in the fields. Sometimes my wife has to pay "management fees"—a land tax, electric charges, and other fees—to village officials (which, incidentally, I know the officials have used that money to eat and drink at our expense more than once)! Fertilizers and pesticides are more and more expensive, too. So to be prosperous, both my wife and I must work all the time.
Robin	Do many people leave the countryside to find work in the city?
Fan Jian Guo	There are *many* other people who have migrated from their villages to the city like me; there are tens of millions of "blind drifters," as we're called, all over China. We do most of the difficult, dangerous, and dirty jobs that city people don't want to do. Some of the friends I made at the train station where I lived until I got the job at the factory now work at construction sites. They work high in the air, standing on rickety bamboo scaffolding as they build the city's new buildings. Other friends repair shoes and tires on the curbside.
Robin	Please tell us more about your job at the factory.
Fan Jian Guo	I was lucky to get my job in the sheet metal factory. I have to work every day, and live in a crowded dormitory with the other factory workers about a block away. Our wages are decent and I save most of my money to take back to the village. I can't complain or I can get fired or sent back to the village because I am not an official city resident.
Masa	Sounds like hard work, especially since you are away from your family.
Fan Jian Guo	I know people who have come here from situations much worse than mine. I know many people who have drowned their newborn baby girl because they could only have one child and couldn't afford not to have a son who would take

care of them in their old age. Now that we aren't guaranteed the socialist benefits like we used to have for life, poorer villagers are worried about their care in their old age. I have also heard that thousands of women have been abducted from their villages and sold as "brides," concubines, or prostitutes. And many people, from the countryside as well as the city, are turning to all sorts of crime to make money. The child of a friend of mine was killed by a "medicine" someone was selling. It wasn't real medicine, and it poisoned the child: just another "get-rich-quick-scheme."

Masa — Really, that's awful!

Fan Jian Guo — Many people have more money because of the reforms, but they are working harder in many ways, too. And others are the victims of someone else's quest for wealth and pleasure. I think the reforms are good, but I think the government shouldn't emphasize strengthening the economy as the only national goal. By doing so, the leadership is encouraging people to hustle for money regardless of ethics.

Robin — Ruan Mei Gui (*"Roo-on May Gway"*), what has life been like for you since your husband has gone to work in the city?

Ruan Mei Gui — Well, since he left the farm to work in a more lucrative job in the city, he only spends a few days in the field each year. His factory closes down during the busiest farming seasons so that he, and many of his coworkers, can return to their villages to harvest. So now I do all the work, the men's half and the women's. I plow the fields, thresh the grain, and raise chickens; and I also keep house, collect water and fuel, cook, wash, and care for my husband's elderly parents. I have had to learn about new farming technology, fertilizers, and seeds. My harvests have been good, but life certainly isn't easy.

Masa — Aside from the "floating population," did life in the cities change, too, after Mao died and Deng came into power?

Fan Qing — I worked in an electric instrument factory before the reforms. All the factory workers were given relatively equal pay, status, and work, except for the factory Party leaders and their active supporters. Party officials had special connections to resources and power. They let people do favors for them in exchange for special deals.

Robin — What kind of special deals?

Fan Qing My husband and I had to get permission from the Party official in charge of our factory to do just about anything. We had to ask permission to change jobs, to travel, to change rooms, to get married, even to get pregnant. On one hand, the Party provided us with many social benefits, like child care, health care, and subsidized housing. But on the other hand, that made us dependent on the Party, particularly on the Party cadres.

Masa How did that change once Deng came into power and he introduced the economic reforms?

Fan Qing When Deng introduced the economic reforms, the government replaced our factory's Party leader with a manager who knew more about factory production and cared less about politics. This way the government reformers like Deng thought the factories would operate more efficiently. One of the tasks of the reforms was to make the government-run factories more competitive.

Robin Are they succeeding?

Fan Qing Well, in the process, many unneeded workers have been laid off from the factory. Remember that the Communist government had guaranteed everyone jobs. This has caused many problems because, in the past, workers received their housing and many other welfare benefits through their work unit.

Masa Were you laid off?

Fan Qing Yes, I was. I lost my job and many of the benefits, like child care, that came with it. I was one of the first workers to be laid off at my factory. Most of the others laid off were women, too. The factory can employ a man without having to spend so much on child care or other benefits. Under socialism, our jobs and benefits were protected, and we talked a lot about equality. Now our jobs and benefits are not protected. Jobs are much more competitive. Now many women are getting the low-paying jobs, or are receiving less pay than men for the same work. There are laws in China against the discrimination of women, but now the Party leader is gone from our factory, so no one really enforces them.

Robin That doesn't sound like a good situation for women.

Fan Qing There are also fewer women in high political positions now, compared to the decades of socialism before the economic reforms. There are no women at the top level of national leadership. No women serve in the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party. Although some women serve at the state and local levels, the ratio of women to men is very low.

Masa Does having the opportunity to make more money under the reforms help women?

Fan Qing I suppose, in general, people have more freedom and opportunities under the new economic reforms, especially if you have money. For example, because of China's population problem, I'm only allowed to have one child. But if I had a lot of money or political connections, then I could have two children and not care about the fines or the additional benefits that would be taken away as my punishment. Because I only have one child now, the government has promised her benefits, like education. If I had another child, this could jeopardize my first child's benefits. This is hard though, because my husband and his family really wanted me to have a son. Who will take care of us in our old age? We don't have any social security in China.

Masa Well, at least there are still benefits like education.

Fan Qing Actually, the government is requiring tuition fees to study in the university now. And there are more and more private elementary and high schools. China's public schools are having trouble attracting good teachers because the pay is so low. This means that children of wealthier families will be more competitive than those who cannot afford the private education.

Robin Fan Qing (*"Ching"*), it sounds like the reforms have had both good and bad affects on your life.

Fan Jian Guo Yes, both good and bad. I know my country is flourishing economically because of the reforms. My factory is a good example. It has become much more efficient and competitive, and China's factories must be efficient if we want to compete with the rest of the world and develop our economy. I think this is good. Most Chinese have a much higher standard of living than their parents did. But what worries me is that now some people will become very, very rich, and some people very, very poor. I just hope my daughter will have the chance to do well.

Robin Are people allowed to sell things for their own profit in the cities too?

Mo Li Hua Yes, the government has introduced reforms that gradually have allowed people to set up their own small businesses. I used to work at a government-run factory, but like Fan Qing, I was laid off. So, I decided to start my own small business. I started selling little things, like cigarettes, liquor, toilet paper, and soy sauce right outside my house. I lived with my husband, child, and parent-in-laws in a ground apartment on a busy street. Because I didn't have a job with child care any longer, I had to stay home to watch my child anyway. This way I could sell a few goods, and make a small profit for my family. Many people came by my "shop" and slowly I saved some earnings. I've even thought about opening a store in a bigger place.

Masa Good for you! Are you going to open a bigger store?

Mo Li Hua The problem is, if I got a permanent shop, that could be open all day selling higher priced goods, I would have to pay a lot of taxes, fees, and bribes, and put myself through a lot of paperwork and trouble. But if I stay small enough, the local governmental officials won't notice and harass me as much. That would be humiliating, not to mention a waste of time!

Masa Are you content just keeping a small business?

Mo Li Hua Well, I have learned a lot about business. I have to do all the buying and selling, and I am a tough bargainer. I work hard and do good business. I know what I am doing. So my family listens to me more now. I bring in my own money to the family. And if I want to buy something for my child, I don't have to discuss it with my husband or my parents-in-law. The more money I make, the more freedom I have from my husband's family and the government to do what I want to do without having to ask for permission.

Huang Xiao Hong My father also decided to start a small business—a family business making and selling shoes. As soon as I was old enough, my father took me out of school so I could work for the family business. At first, I felt lucky to get a job at home instead of going to find work in the city like some of my classmates did. I don't have any relatives in the city who could have gotten me a good job there through their connections. At home I could be safe and close to my family.

Robin That sounds ideal!

Huang Xiao Hong Except, I'm not a paid worker. I'm just family. I work in the factory and I work in the house. That is my job. Of course I don't get real wages for it. If they paid me, the family wouldn't get rich. My father just paid a matchmaker to find my brother a bride. His new wife will have to work in the family factory, too.

Robin Who's your boss?

Huang Xiao Hong My father and his family are in charge of my work. My mother works in the factory, too. Even though our family business is making the family more and more prosperous, my mother is not as happy as she says she was when she worked in the government factory. During the 1970s, before Deng's reforms, my mother was a foreman in her factory. She says she was a respected worker, and equal to the men. The socialists told her that "Women hold up half the sky!" She belonged to a good work unit, too. She was proud of being a worker there.

Robin She's not happy in your household factory?

Huang Xiao Hong There she has to listen to my father and his brothers. They make the business decisions and control the factory resources. My mother knows she is helping the family become rich, and of course this makes her happy. But meanwhile, we work long days. I am his daughter. That's the way it is now: the reforms are about getting rich, not becoming equal.

Wang Zhu Hua After all of our struggle for equality—from the Long March through the Cultural Revolution—people don't believe in Communism any more. I'm too old to get rich now. It takes money to make money. You know who has money? People with power, or people who have connections to people in power. Even the government has changed.

Liu Wei I have a cousin in Beijing who was forced to move out of his residence by realty developers. He started protesting with his neighbors, but the police arrested them and forced him to promise not to protest again. Now he has no choice but to move to the suburbs away from the city, where the services are degraded and incomplete. The government provided him housing 50 years ago when he got a job in the city; now it's taking it back.

Masa But isn't it the government's land?

Liu Wei

It's just ironic. The government is selling leases on land, famous sites, and resorts to well-connected Chinese and foreign businesses. Private land investors hand gifts—sometimes worth hundreds of thousands of dollars—to governmental employees who can help arrange the sale of property. Because the government has the land, the government can sell it, and the individuals brokering the deal have an opportunity to take their share in the profit. Now governmental officials are meeting at resorts, driving fancy cars, and living in expensive, modern apartments. They think they've been poor for as long as the rest of us, and they deserve to be a part of China's economic boom. With the opportunity and pressure to get rich, how could anyone resist?

Fan Yi Song

In 1989, I was involved in the student protests in Tiananmen Square. I know the government did a lot for my parents, but China and the government is very different now. As Liu Wei says, our government leaders are living a rich life. So thousands of students from all the different universities in Beijing marched to Tiananmen to petition the government with a list of student demands. We wanted the government to permit the publication of nonofficial newspapers and end censorship of the press, to reveal the salaries and other wealth of Party and governmental leaders and their families, to abolish the Beijing city government's rules against public marches and demonstrations, to increase funding to higher education, and to provide objective news coverage of the students' protests. We carried signs and shouted slogans like, "Democracy is the foundation for building a country; bureaucrats are the roots of corruption;" "Without freedom, what use is knowledge?" and "We can no longer be silent."

Liu Zhi Qiang

One student wrote to the government in a newspaper:

> What are you lacking?
> The newspapers are in your hands,
> Broadcasting is in your hands,
> Guns are in your hands,
> Prisons are in your hands.
> So what are you lacking, oh Emperor?
> You lack only the hearts of the people.
> You lack the truth.

Ruan Mei Gui

Many students even went on a hunger strike to protest the government.

Mo Li Hua I remember a few days later Deng said, "the situation developed into a counter-revolutionary rebellion...[The students] primarily had two fundamental slogans: overthrow the Communist Party, and do away with the socialist system...We never will forget how savage and ruthless our enemies were. We should not show them an iota of forgiveness."

Masa What would have happened if he hadn't called in the troops, if he listened to the students' demands and tried to reform the political system?

Wang Zhu Hua Who knows! One of the student protesters said herself, "I *don't know* what democracy is, but I know we need some!" Maybe Deng missed an opportunity to make great strides toward political freedom. Maybe the protests could have gotten out of hand and sent China into another decade of chaos. Where would China be then? At least now people are getting more and more freedom to improve their lives economically, and remember, China's intellectuals only make up three percent of the entire population!

Huang Xiao Hong The year after Deng cracked down on the protesters or, in Deng's words, the "counter-revolutionaries," the Soviet Union fell. People in China are watching now, as the Russians and East Europeans try to endure the hardships of a socialist transition to a market system. It is painful to watch at times. I'm not sure which is harder to endure. Many Chinese prefer to maintain stability and peace, and the opportunity *finally* to prosper economically.

Fan Yi Song I agree. Because the protests ended with violence, I don't want to get too involved with politics anymore. But, I do want to get a good job. If I can get a job in a foreign-Chinese joint company in one of China's Special Economic Zones, I would be really happy. Or if I could, I'd love to go to the United States or Japan to study computers. This will be hard because I don't have enough money, and scholarships from foreign universities are very, very competitive.

Robin Really? Come to the United States or Japan?

Fan Yi Song I grew up learning that the United States and Japan were horrible countries because Japan invaded China in the 1930s and the United States was a capitalist enemy ruled by rich people. This is what I was taught. But now I know that the United States is not an enemy since China and the United States established relations in 1979, and now we do a lot of trading together. I also know that the United States has some of its own problems, like violence and homelessness. China's getting more of that, too, since we started reforming our economy.

Liu Zhi Qiang Most people just want to forget about the past and move forward. The problem is, it's hard to know where China's future is going. On one hand, we are becoming more open to the outside world and prosperous economically. On the other hand, politically we are still under the control of the Communist Party. Deng himself said, "We are crossing the river by feeling our way over the stones." If people don't want to look back, but don't know where to look forward, it is no wonder that they are seizing the day to get rich. We can get rich now, as long as we don't criticize the Party.

Liu Zhi Qiang Meanwhile, we have to keep going to our political classes. We still have to memorize some of Mao's ideas, write essays, and take tests on communist development. Most of us just sleep. Even some of the teachers knit or sleep. We are just going through the motions. None of us really believe in communism any more. Some of us still joined the Party, but just so we could get good jobs, connections, or better housing. We are tired of waiting for the good life.

Fan Yi Song Our generation will witness some interesting changes, Robin and Masa. China is not just a place and a single government. It is a country of more than a billion different people, like me and my friends and family. Neither the United States nor China has all the answers. I hope our leaders will try to better understand our countries' different histories, current conditions, and values, and form wise and fair policies that continue to improve the relationship between the United States and China. I want to visit you in the United States, and for you to visit me in China.

Robin Me, too, Fan Yi Song. Let's keep our fingers crossed.

Fan Yi Song What does that mean?

Robin Let's hope.

JOURNALIST'S NOTEBOOK

Use this sheet to write the question assigned to you by your teacher. Use it also for recording any notes you might take during the readers' theater.

Focus Question:

Notes:

Response to Focus Question (to be presented to the rest of the class):

© SPICE

PERSONAL BACKGROUND SHEET FOR MASA AND ROBIN

Develop four or five questions to ask Masa or Robin. Some possible questions are listed below.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Possible questions:

During your conversations with the Chinese characters, you heard many comments about people's lives before Mao's socialist revolution and after his death in 1976. Describe some of these.

How have Deng's reforms in China's socialist system affected some of the Chinese people's lives?

What were some of the Chinese impressions of the United States and Japan?

What are some of the differences and similarities between your country and contemporary China?

PERSONAL BACKGROUND SHEET FOR CHINESE CHARACTERS IN THE READERS' THEATER

Develop four or five questions to ask the Chinese character you are interviewing. Some possible questions are listed below.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Possible Questions:

What was life like for you, or people with similar jobs to yours' now, before Mao's socialist revolution? In 1976, after the death of Mao?

How have Deng's reforms in China's socialist system affected you and your family?

As you grew up, what were your impressions of the United States and Japan?

How is your life different from another character's?

© SPICE

Lesson 3

CHINA'S ECONOMY IN TRANSITION

Organizing Questions

- What are some of the challenges, obstacles, and achievements of China's recent economic reforms?
- How have the United States and other capitalist countries influenced China's transition to market-socialism? What are some of the United States' motives for engaging in a changing Chinese economy?
- How have China's economic reforms influenced U.S.–Sino relations and foreign policy?

Introduction

This lesson consists of two activities. Activity 1 introduces students to China's economy in transition through visual images of China. Students in pairs will be provided with some important information about this transition as well as a visual image illustrative of the transition. In activity 2, students are presented with a case study of Nike shoes in China. Students in small groups representing the various departments of Nike will make recommendations to the CEO of Nike regarding whether or not Nike should stay in China.

Objectives

knowledge

- to appreciate the socialist context of China's recent economic reforms
- to understand some of the challenges and contradictions of market-socialism
- to consider the dynamics and complexities of the United States' economic relationship with China
- to recognize the impact of global economic trends on the sovereignty of nations

attitude

- to appreciate the basic advantages and disadvantages of socialist and capitalist economic systems
- to recognize the standards and expectations of U.S. consumers
- to consider the influence of cultural values and social ethics on economic development

skill

- to utilize case studies as an example of larger issues
- to discern the forces of consumerism
- to identify the various inputs of different company functions in business decisions

Materials

- Student Reading: China's Economy in Transition, 15 copies
- Handouts #1–15: Visual Images of China's Economy in Transition, one each
- Overhead transparencies of Handouts #1–15
- Nike Departmental Briefs, one copy

China's socialist economy is undergoing radical restructuring and is reorienting its relationship with Western economies. Following decades devoted to creating an egalitarian, socialist society, Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms introduced capitalist, free-market forces to China. In 1994, a *New York Times* journalist reported, "There is not an adjective that soars high enough or detonates with enough force to describe China's economic explosion or the promise of its future" (Tyler, Patrick, "The Dynamic New China Still Races Against Time," *The New York Times*, January 2, 1994, p. A4). This lesson will examine China's recent history of economic reforms, the unique system and inherent contradictions of market socialism, and China's developing relations with capitalist countries. Focusing on Nike's experience in China as a case study, students will explore the challenges foreign businesses confront in the process of developing economic relations with a China in the throes of reform.

Procedure
Activity 1

Visual Images of China's Economy in Transition

1. Set the context for this activity by presenting a summary of the background information provided above. Students in 15 pairs will be presented with visual images illustrating China's economy in transition.

2. Divide the class into 15 pairs, and distribute one copy of the Student Reading, China's Economy in Transition, to each group. This reading is divided into 15 sections. Assign one group to focus on each of the 15 parts of the Student Reading, and distribute Handouts #1–15 to each group accordingly. Each of the handouts contains one section from the Student Reading as well as a visual. Each group of students will have the task of using the information provided to write a caption for the visual. Allow 15–20 minutes for this task.

3. Using overhead transparencies of each of the visuals, have each small group (in order of the handouts) summarize its section of the Student Reading as well as explain its visual and read its caption. The information provided on the handouts is listed sequentially so it is important to have each small group present in the order of the handouts.

4. Take a moment to discuss these questions as a class:
   - Can you think of situations when connections/contacts are used by people in the United States? How important are these relationships in the United States? Are they the only or primary means by which we secure important opportunities in life?
   - Is equality important in the United States? Consider the different areas of political power, economic opportunity and wealth, and social status and privilege. Do you think equality is a positive value in our society?
   - In the United States, does everyone have a house? job? food? health care? possessions?
   - In United States, who decides what a business will manufacture, how much it will produce, which resources it will use, and how much it will charge for the product?
   - If everyone in the class was definitely going to get a B grade on an assignment, would you spend extra time trying to do the best you possibly could simply for the sake of knowledge? If you were a worker in China and were given the same wages as everyone else in a factory no matter how hard you worked, would you work extra hard, day after day, for the sake of modernizing your country?

5. Debrief this activity by discussing the following points:
   - What are some of the challenges, obstacles, and achievements of China's recent economic reforms?
   - How have the United States and other capitalist countries influenced China's transition to market-socialism?
   - What are some of the United States' motives for engaging in a changing Chinese economy?

- How have China's economic reforms influenced U.S.–Sino relations and foreign policy?

Activity 2 Nike Case Study

1. As a class, discuss the following questions:
    - Why do you buy a product? (Some possible key words include image, price, service, reliability, style, variety, quality, reputation.)
    - How do businesses sell a product? (advertise, offer competitive or low prices, consistently provide outstanding service, produce a variety of choices and high quality goods, introduce the most technologically advanced product of its kind on the market)
    - Where would you manufacture an athletic shoe? Why?
    - Do social, political or ethical issues ever influence your decision to purchase a product?
2. Mention to the students that they will be studying about Nike shoes in China.

Divide the class into the following seven groups representing different departments in the Nike company, and distribute the appropriate Departmental Briefs to each of the respective groups. Please note that the Labor, Marketing, Government Relations and Regulations, and Company Ethics Departmental Briefs are longer than the others. You may want to keep this in mind when forming small groups.

Technology
Labor
Marketing
Supplies
Government Relations and Regulations
Company Ethics
Infrastructure

3. Read the following background information to the students:

Nike in China

In April 1980, Nike, the United States' leading sports shoe company, submitted a business proposal to the People's Republic of China. Phil Knight, Nike's founder and president, explained in a letter Nike's objectives and rationale for doing business in China. The following is what he wrote:

> Primary among our objectives is to establish the means by which we would buy a finished shoe product from the People's Republic of China. We presently target a goal of 100,000 pair per month in the first phase, with growth to 1,000,000 pair per month, or US$30 million by the mid-1980s.

We feel that the People's Republic of China, with its long tradition of excellence in this field of manufacturing, would be an ideal additional source for our product. We see immediate benefits to be derived by each party in this business relationship, with even more important long-term benefits in the future.

4. In preparation for a Nike board meeting, allow each small group 20–30 minutes to discuss its Departmental Brief, which provides background information as well as a set of questions for student groups to discuss. Each department has a unique set of issues and problems and has the task of making a recommendation to the CEO of Nike about whether Nike should continue to do business in China.
5. At the Nike board meeting, allow each small group a few minutes to present a summary of its discussion as well as a recommendation to the CEO of Nike.

Policy Study References

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Economic Issues*. New York: The Asia Society, 1992.

Gaston Sigur Center at George Washington University, unpublished papers presented at a workshop, Beijing, October 14–16, 1994.

CHINA'S ECONOMY IN TRANSITION

Group #1 In the early years of China's socialist revolution, the spirit of camaraderie, progress, self-reliance, and nationalism rallied people to work together to develop the country and usher China proudly into the league of modern nations. Millions of Chinese who had lived through years of war and poverty were mobilized by the socialist promise to distribute China's wealth equally among the country's people. Communist soldiers punished or killed the rich landlords and privileged classes, and distributed the enemy's wealth and property—the land, house, clothes, food, grain, and anything else found of value—to the loyal Communist soldiers, supporters, and impoverished. Educated elites who weren't killed or punished as landlords were banished to the countryside to perform manual labor, learn about the life of the uneducated peasant, and work for the revolution. In the 1960s, young Red Guards swarmed through the country destroying any remnants of the old, corrupt social order.

Group #2 The Chinese Communist Party fully devoted the country's resources, labor, money, and energy to building China into a great nation. Instead of letting individuals decide what they wanted to buy or private factories decide what to sell, the government decided. Since all of China's factories were now possessed by the Communists on behalf of the public, the Communist government decided what the country's public factories should produce, how much to produce (in order to distribute the product equally and adequately in society), and which of the country's resources to use. In the process, the government had to decide how many basic items were necessary in order to live sufficiently, and how much everyone in the country was going to need. This is a big and complicated job, especially considering how many people live throughout the entire country of China.

Group #3 The Chinese Communist Party sought to provide China's poor and vast population with guaranteed jobs for life, as well as with housing, food, clothing, and basic social services like health care and universal education. The government did not permit conspicuous or leisurely consumption. For example, when it formulated the state plans for production, food prices were kept low to meet consumption needs, and luxury items, if they existed at all, were priced very high and sold in exclusive stores opened only to governmental officials or tourists. For example, it was not a priority of the government to produce pet food for fancy dogs when there were thousands of people starving in China. The government didn't want to sell aerobic, tennis, or high-heeled shoes when people had to get out in the fields to grow food and into the factories to build up China's industry.

© SPICE

Group #4 In the 1950s, '60s, and '70s, China's main priority was equal and adequate distribution of the resources needed to survive, not name-brand quality, fancy colors, or a variety of choices. Because the government owned all the factories and decided what to produce, there was no competition between businesses, no advertisements or commercials, no billboards or taste-tests. The government owned all the stores, so no one made any profit. Because available products were minimal and similar, there were few, if any, possessions over which to be greedy or jealous. Six or seven days a week with few or no holidays, everyone worked for basically the same wages and used publicly made and publicly owned utensils and tools. Everyone wore similar blue, cotton clothes and caps called Mao suits. For a while, women even cut their hair and tried to look as equal to men and to each other as possible. Individuals who tried to buy or sell something for their personal profit or pleasure were charged with "seeking personal gains." Consequently, they were disciplined by the local Communist Party leaders as well as by their scornful neighbors. Banners and posters glorified the latest political campaigns and the virtues of selfless dedication, self-sacrifice, and the willingness to forgo private material gain and personal comfort for the benefit of the entire country.

Group #5 Many of the socialist benefits were distributed through work units. Everyone who worked for Steel Factory #2, for example, was a part of one unit. Clothes, food ration tickets, political instruction, education, health care, and child care all were based on membership to a work unit. Farmers belonged to work teams. Being a political or personal supporter of Party superiors, like the factory leader, was the primary way to get a bonus, a promotion, or better housing; permission to get married, have a child, or travel; or any other special favor. If a worker or farmer did the factory or agricultural team leaders favors, agreed with and supported their ideas, and worked diligently according to political and economic policy, then maybe the worker would receive favors from the leaders in return. On the other hand, if a worker disagreed with factory politics or did not get along well with the factory leader, then the leader could make life very difficult for the worker and his or her entire family.

Group #6 In China, many people did work hard, hoping to help develop their country into a proud and modern nation. However, many policies failed tragically, especially agricultural policies in the 1950s which resulted in a great famine. Millions of Chinese died of starvation. The 1960s and 1970s passed and China still wasn't "developed." Corruption had continued to increase between Party superiors and their personal and political supporters. Consequently, many people didn't have any incentive to work harder than absolutely necessary. Why risk mentioning a better way of accomplishing a factory task if you might appear to be trying to be better than someone else? Why challenge an inefficient policy and risk criticizing your factory's Party leader? Promotions of any sort were based on being active in revolutionary politics, not on technological expertise. Given these circumstances, do you think the government-run enterprises were successful?

Group #7 The socialist effort, in fact, did lead an industrial revolution. By the end of Mao's life in 1976, China was among the top six of the largest industrial producers in the world. The quality of life for more than one-fifth of humankind drastically improved. However, because there were few personal incentives for employees to work hard or efficiently, many of the government-owned enterprises lost money. Often the government would then give the factory more money in order to help the factory continue to produce the particular items the government had assigned it to produce. China's Communist government had to create and maintain the jobs it had promised workers they would have for life, as well as provide housing, food rations, and many social services. The Chinese government strongly favored these socialist policies over technological expertise. Due to the amount of resources that were needed to enforce these socialist policies, technological advancement was limited while Chairman Mao was in power.

© SPICE

Group #8 When Deng Xiaoping (She'ow-ping) came to power in the late 1970s following the death of Mao, he introduced economic reforms which emphasized technological development *more* than the radical policies such as those condemning individual gain. "It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white, as long as it catches the mouse!" said Deng. By this he meant that the goal is to develop China. It doesn't matter if some policies are socialist and some are not; just as long as China develops. Deng allowed families in the countryside to farm on individual plots of land instead of as part of a socialist work team. More importantly, after producing enough food to fill the government's quotas, Deng permitted farmers to sell any extra harvest at vegetable markets for their own profit. This new policy, "The Responsibility System," motivated farmers to work hard and efficiently because, if they did, they would directly benefit. Although this went against the socialist principle of economic and social equality, Deng believed that the incentive to produce more would result in agricultural improvements.

Group #9 In 1979, Deng Xiaoping (She'ow-ping) also introduced the Open Door policy. In need of capital investment and technological expertise, the Chinese government set up a "special economic zone" (SEZ) to serve as a contained capitalist experiment in China. The first SEZ was established in southern China directly north of Hong Kong, one of Asia's capitalistic centers. Deng granted local authorities permission to introduce capitalist incentives to enterprises in this area, and he invited foreign companies to come into the SEZ to invest and share their technical and managerial expertise. By offering special economic policies, tax incentives, foreign privileges, reduced bureaucratic regulations, and by concentrating the development of transportation and communication services in this one area, the Chinese government hoped to create a favorable climate that would attract foreign investment. In exchange for giving foreign companies benefits for investing in China, China hoped the foreign companies would aid in the further development of the area's infrastructure (for example, roads, airports, phones, energy, banks), as well as hire and train Chinese workers to work in their factories, and introduce new technology to China. The SEZs in southern China flourished, so the government has continued to establish many more SEZs up and down China's eastern coast.

Group #10

Both in and outside the Special Economic Zones (SEZs), the Chinese government has tried to distribute some of its responsibilities and power to the provincial level, that is, from the government in the Chinese capital of Beijing to the local governments in the provinces (Chinese states). This allowed some of the major decisions that Beijing used to have to make for the entire country to be made more locally. As a result, more relevant and efficient policies and decisions could be made. Also, this reform gradually has reduced the role of the Party in the day-to-day management of factories. Enterprises had to become responsible for their own profit or loss. The more relaxed political atmosphere of the factories and the new individual incentives unleashed workers' energy to seek opportunities and increase their share of China's new wealth. The government also allowed individual households to set up their own small, private businesses.

Group #11

China's leaders face some difficult challenges as employees become increasingly motivated by financial incentives instead of socialist principles. The Party has promised the Chinese population jobs, yet as the government seeks to make government-run enterprises more efficient and profitable, many idle workers have to be laid off . Now thousands of Chinese are unemployed and lack the basic services previously provided by their working unit. Many migrate to cities looking for work. Since government-run enterprises have provided social services to employees, government enterprises save more money by laying off women before men, and hiring men before women, in order to avoid paying maternity leave or child care. As a result, in many cases, the economic reforms are affecting women differently, and less favorably, than men.

Group #12

The thousands of young workers who flood into SEZs find themselves in deplorable working conditions with limited labor rights because local authorities want to attract and please foreign investors and know that cheap labor is easy to come by. In a country once determined to create an egalitarian society, shiny Mercedes now drive down city streets alongside weathered, barefoot men pulling wooden carts of heavy bricks by a strap around their chests. Thousands of people still live without indoor plumbing while others dine at McDonald's.

Group #13

However, in general, the process of opening up the Chinese economy has transformed the entire country. Some economists predict the rise of China as a world economic superpower in the next century. With the influx of foreign-owned enterprises and joint-venture companies, many Chinese are enjoying a new working environment with fixed hours, holidays, and vacations. Particularly in the cities, more money and time for activities outside of work has generated a new demand for leisure products, sporting activities, and recreational equipment. Big city streets once waving banners proclaiming the evils of personal gain are now lined with billboards advertising Japanese cars, Nike Air Jordans, Baskin–Robbins ice cream cones, Avon, and McDonald's. In the 1970s, consumers aspired to own "The Three Bigs," which became a TV, a washing machine, and a refrigerator. Today, the Three Bigs are a VCR, a motorcycle, and a telephone. A rumor claimed that a family who lived in a house without electricity bought a washer and used it to store grain.

Group #14

Joint-ventures and foreign-owned business have pressured China's state-run enterprises to improve the quality and variety of their products in order to compete in the rapidly expanding domestic and global market. As the Chinese consumers' affluence continues to rise, brand name, prestige, quality, and good value are becoming new criteria by which consumers are making their purchasing decisions.

Group #15

Deng Xiaoping has called China's unique economic system *market-socialism*, a seeming contradiction in terms. Originally the Party rationalized the introduction of capitalist forces as a temporary phase in China's socialist revolution, necessary for the development of China's infrastructure and technology. However, as Chinese become increasingly exposed to capitalist forces and connected to global processes, China's Communist Party and governmental leaders face mounting challenges to their ideological legitimacy and authoritarian control. Inequality, materialism, discrimination, greed, corruption and crime flourish alongside increased economic freedom, opportunity and prosperity. The development of communication systems and foreign economic partnerships increases China's transparency, particularly in the area of human rights. Students demand democratic reform while the United States uses economic policy to discipline Chinese authorities and influence their conduct. Once proud and determined to remain self-reliant, China is now a significant player in the global economy. China's sovereign borders become increasingly porous, as she aspires to define her role as a leading economic power in a changing world system.

handout #1

In the early years of China's socialist revolution, the spirit of camaraderie, progress, self-reliance, and nationalism rallied people to work together to develop the country and usher China proudly into the league of modern nations. Millions of Chinese who had lived through years of war and poverty were mobilized by the socialist promise to distribute China's wealth equally among the country's people. Communist soldiers punished or killed the rich landlords and privileged classes, and distributed the enemy's wealth and property—the land, house, clothes, food, grain, and anything else found of value—to the loyal Communist soldiers, supporters, and impoverished. Educated elites who weren't killed or punished as landlords were banished to the countryside to perform manual labor, learn about the life of the uneducated peasant, and work for the revolution. In the 1960s, young Red Guards swarmed through the country destroying any remnants of the old, corrupt social order.

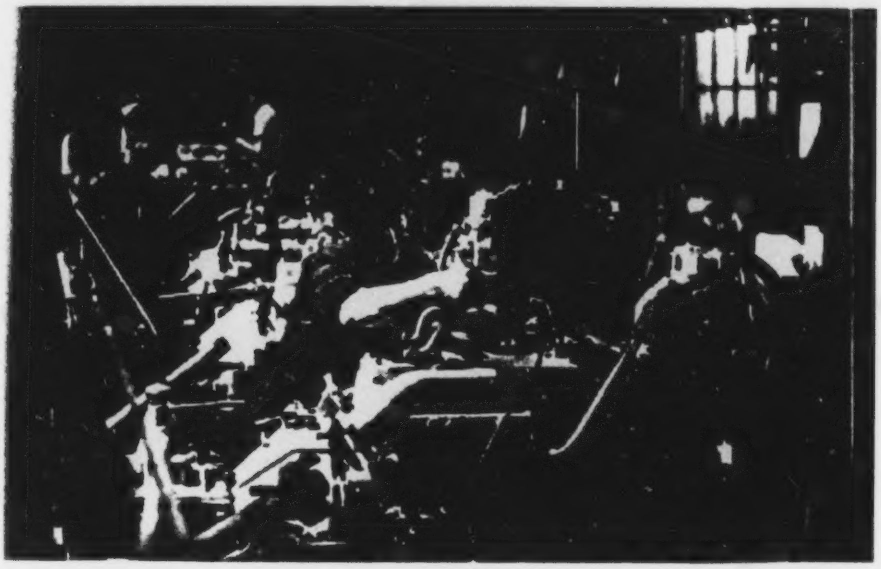
Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare with the issues represented by the Group #9. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Commune members studying the writings of Chairman Mao.

© SPICE

The Chinese Communist Party fully devoted the country's resources, labor, money, and energy to building China into a great nation. Instead of letting individuals decide what they wanted to buy or private factories decide what to sell, the government decided. Since all of China's factories were now possessed by the Communists on behalf of the public, the Communist government decided what the country's public factories should produce, how much to produce (in order to distribute the product equally and adequately in society), and which of the country's resources to use. In the process, the government had to decide how many basic items were necessary in order to live sufficiently, and how much everyone in the country was going to need. This is a big and complicated job, especially considering how many people live throughout the entire country of China.



Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare with the reforms mentioned by Group #10. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Tractor factory in China.

The Chinese Communist Party sought to provide China's poor and vast population with guaranteed jobs for life, as well as with housing, food, clothing, and basic social services like health care and universal education. The government did not permit conspicuous or leisurely consumption. For example, when it formulated the state plans for production, food prices were kept low to meet consumption needs, and luxury items, if they existed at all, were priced very high and sold in exclusive stores opened only to governmental officials or tourists. For example, it was not a priority of the government to produce pet food for fancy dogs when there were thousands of people starving in China. The government didn't want to sell aerobic, tennis, or high-heeled shoes when people had to get out in the fields to grow food and into the factories to build up China's industry.

Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout of China in the 1950s through the 1970s compare with the issues represented by Group #15 concerning China during the 1980s and 90s. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Standing in line at a food store.

© SPICE

handout #4

In the 1950s, '60s, and '70s, China's main priority was equal and adequate distribution of the resources needed to survive, not name-brand quality, fancy colors, or a variety of choices. Because the government owned all the factories and decided what to produce, there was no competition between businesses, no advertisements or commercials, no billboards or taste-tests. The government owned all the stores, so no one made any profit. Because available products were minimal and similar, there were few, if any, possessions over which to be greedy or jealous. Six or seven days a week with few or no holidays, everyone worked for basically the same wages and used publicly-made and publicly-owned utensils and tools. Everyone wore similar blue, cotton clothes and caps called Mao suits. For a while, women even cut their hair and tried to look as equal to men and each other as possible. Individuals who tried to buy or sell something for their personal profit or pleasure were charged with "seeking personal gains." Consequently, they were disciplined by the local Communist Party leaders as well as by their scornful neighbors. Banners and posters glorified the latest political campaigns and virtues of selfless dedication, self-sacrifice, and the willingness to forgo private material gain and personal comfort for the benefit of the entire country.

活学活用毛主席著作讲用会

Group Task

Read the excerpt on the previous page and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout of China in the 1950s through the 1970s compare with the issues represented by Group #14 concerning China in the 1990s Create a caption for the visual image on the previous page, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Brigade members discussing Chairman Mao's works. The translated meaning of characters in the background: Do our best to grasp the essentials of whatever quotations from Chairman Mao we study, and solve all problems by referring to them. Always strive to apply what we have learned so that we shall never forget Chairman Mao's teachings.

© SPICE

Many of the socialist benefits were distributed through work units. Everyone who worked for Steel Factory #2, for example, was a part of one unit. Clothes, food ration tickets, political instruction, education, health care, and child care all were based on membership to a work unit. Farmers belonged to work teams. Being a political or personal supporter of Party superiors, like the factory leader, was the primary way to get a bonus, a promotion, or better housing; permission to get married, have a child, or travel; or any other special favor. If a worker or farmer did the factory or agricultural team leaders favors, agreed with and supported their ideas, and worked diligently according to political and economic policy, then maybe the worker would receive favors from the leaders in return. On the other hand, if a worker disagreed with factory politics or did not get along well with the factory leader, then the leader could make life very difficult for the worker and his or her entire family.

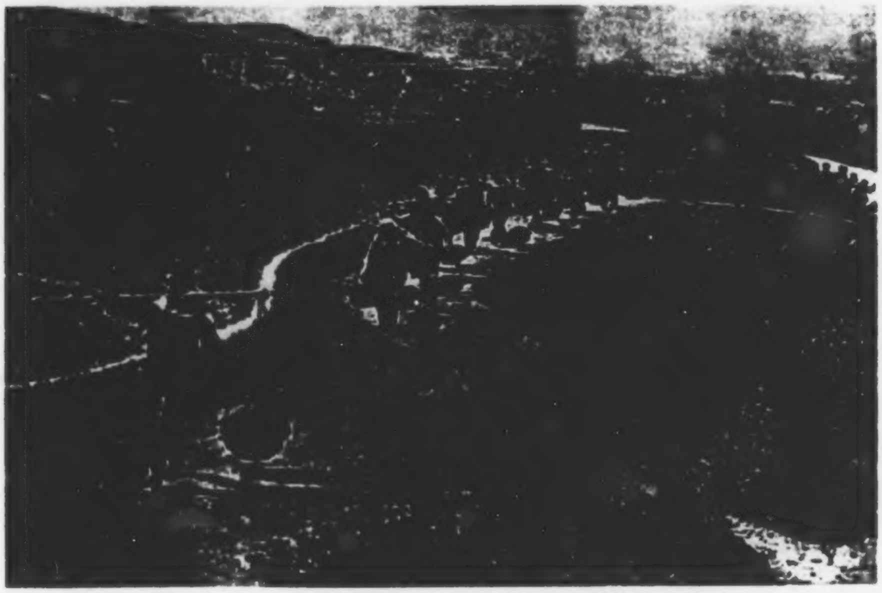
Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout of China in the 1950s through the 1970s compare with the issues represented by Group #10 concerning China in the 1980s and 90s. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Peasants and soldiers studying Chairman Mao's teachings during a break in their work.

© SPICE

In China, many people did work hard, hoping to help develop their country into a proud and modern nation. However, many policies failed tragically, especially agricultural policies in the 1950s which resulted in a great famine. Millions of Chinese died of starvation. The 1960s and 1970s passed and China still wasn't "developed." Corruption had continued to increase between Party superiors and their personal and political supporters. Consequently, many people didn't have any incentive to work harder than absolutely necessary. Why risk mentioning a better way of accomplishing a factory task if you might appear to be trying to be better than someone else? Why challenge an inefficient policy and risk criticizing your factory's Party leader? Promotions of any sort were based on being active in revolutionary politics, not on technological expertise. Given these circumstances, do you think the government-run enterprises were successful?



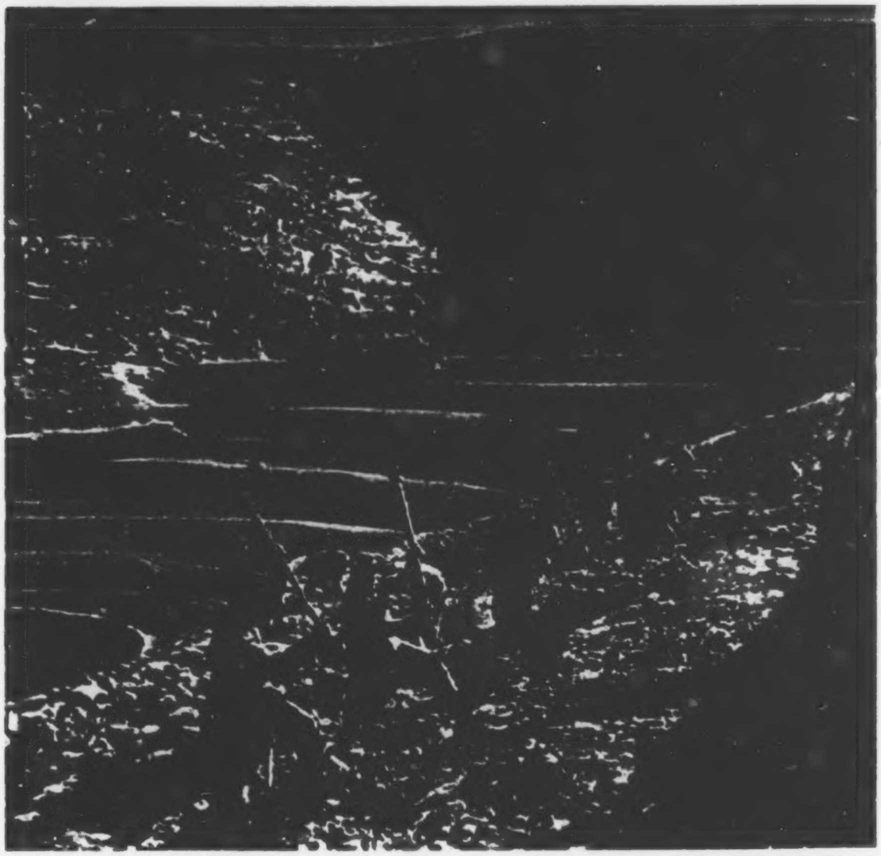
Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare with the "New Responsibility System" introduced by Group #8. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Commune members working the fields.

handout #7

The socialist effort, in fact, did lead an industrial revolution. By the end of Mao's life in 1976, China was among the top six of the largest industrial producers in the world. The quality of life for more than one-fifth of humankind drastically improved. However, because there were few personal incentives for employees to work hard or efficiently, many of the government-owned enterprises lost money. Often the government would then give the factory more money in order to help the factory continue to produce the particular items the government had assigned it to produce. China's Communist government had to create and maintain the jobs it had promised workers they would have for life, as well as provide housing, food rations, and many social services. The Chinese government strongly favored these socialist policies over technological expertise. Due to the amount of resources that were needed to enforce these socialist policies, technological advancement was limited while Chairman Mao was in power.



© SPICE

Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare to the atmosphere described by Group #1. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: A Beijing street vendor.

When Deng Xiaoping (She'ow-ping) came to power in the late 1970s following the death of Mao, he introduced economic reforms which emphasized technological development more than the radical policies such as those condemning individual gain. "It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white, as long as it catches the mouse!" said Deng. By this he meant that the goal is to develop China. It doesn't matter if some policies are socialist and some are not; just as long as China develops. Deng allowed families in the countryside to farm on individual plots of land instead of as part of a socialist work team. More importantly, after producing enough food to fill the government's quotas, Deng permitted farmers to sell any extra harvest at vegetable markets for their own profit. This new policy, "The Responsibility System," motivated farmers to work hard and efficiently because, if they did, they would directly benefit. Although this went against the socialist principle of economic and social equality, Deng believed that the incentive to produce more would result in agricultural improvements.

Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare to those mentioned by Group #6. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Farmer selling vegetables for family profit.

© SPICE

In 1979, Deng Xiaoping (She'ow-ping) also introduced the Open Door policy. In need of capital investment and technological expertise, the Chinese government set up a "special economic zone" (SEZ) to serve as a contained capitalist experiment in China. The first SEZ was established in southern China directly north of Hong Kong, one of Asia's capitalistic centers. Deng granted local authorities permission to introduce capitalist incentives to enterprises in this area, and he invited foreign companies to come into the SEZ to invest and share their technical and managerial expertise. By offering special economic policies, tax incentives, foreign privileges, reduced bureaucratic regulations, and by concentrating the development of transportation and communication services in this one area, the Chinese government hoped to create a favorable climate that would attract foreign investment. In exchange for giving foreign companies benefits for investing in China, China hoped the foreign companies would aid in the further development of the area's infrastructure (for example, roads, airports, phones, energy, banks), as well as hire and train Chinese workers to work in their factories, and introduce new technology to China. The SEZs in southern China flourished, so the government has continued to establish many more SEZs up and down China's eastern coast.

Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare to the atmosphere described by Group #1. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: A Beijing street vendor.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

© SPICE

Both in and outside the Special Economic Zones (SEZs), the Chinese government has tried to distribute some of its responsibilities and power to the provincial level, that is, from the government in the Chinese capital of Beijing to the local governments in the provinces (Chinese states). This allowed some of the major decisions that Beijing used to have to make for the entire country to be made more locally. As a result, more relevant and efficient policies and decisions could be made. Also, this reform gradually has reduced the role of the Party in the day-to-day management of factories. Enterprises had to become responsible for their own profit or loss. The more relaxed political atmosphere of the factories and the new individual incentives unleashed workers' energy to seek opportunities and increase their share of China's new wealth. The government also allowed individual households to set up their own small, private businesses.

Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare to those mentioned by Groups #2 and #5. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Vendor offering to take pictures of tourists visiting Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

handout #11

China's leaders face some difficult challenges as employees become increasingly motivated by financial incentives instead of socialist principles. The Party has promised the Chinese population jobs, yet as the government seeks to make government-run enterprises more efficient and profitable, many idle workers have to be laid off . Now thousands of Chinese are unemployed and lack the basic services previously provided by their working unit. Many migrate to cities looking for work. Since government-run enterprises have provided social services to employees, government enterprises save more money by laying off women before men, and hiring men before women, in order to avoid paying maternity leave or child care. As a result, in many cases, the economic reforms are affecting women differently, and less favorably, than men.

© SPICE

Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare to those mentioned by Group #13. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Rural market in Southern China.

handout #12

The thousands of young workers who flood into SEZs find themselves in deplorable working conditions with limited labor rights because local authorities want to attract and please foreign investors and know that cheap labor is easy to come by. In a country once determined to create an egalitarian society, shiny Mercedes now drive down city streets alongside weathered, barefoot men pulling wooden carts of heavy bricks by a strap around their chests. Thousands of people still live without indoor plumbing while others dine at McDonald's.

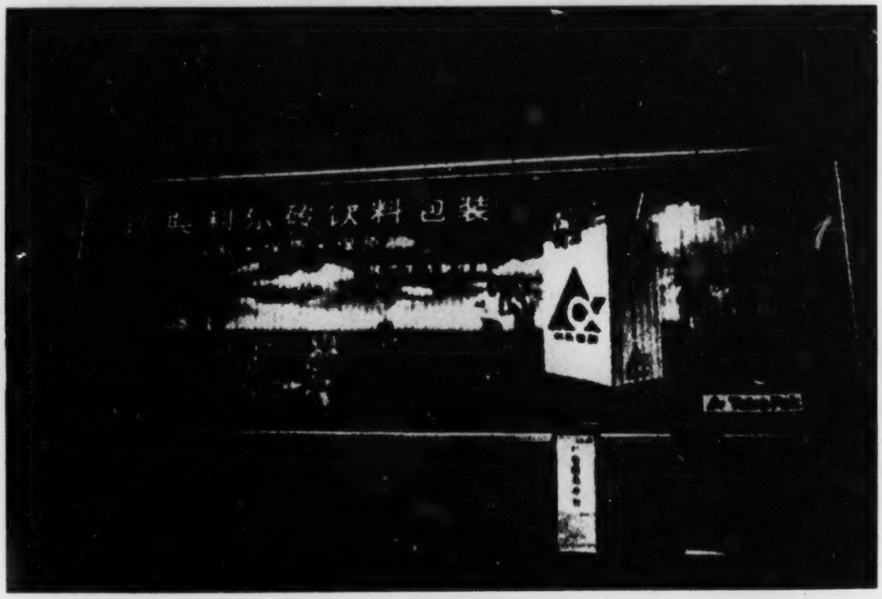
Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare to those mentioned by Group #7. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: McDonald's in Beijing.

handout #13

However, in general, the process of opening up the Chinese economy has transformed the entire country. Some economists predict the rise of China as a world economic superpower in the next century. With the influx of foreign-owned enterprises and joint-venture companies, many Chinese are enjoying a new working environment with fixed hours, holidays, and vacations. Particularly in the cities, more money and time for activities outside of work has generated a new demand for leisure products, sporting activities, and recreational equipment. Big city streets once waving banners proclaiming the evils of personal gain are now lined with billboards advertising Japanese cars, Nike Air Jordans, Baskin-Robbins ice cream cones, Avon, and McDonald's. In the 1970s, consumers aspired to own "The Three Bigs," which became a TV, a washing machine, and a refrigerator. Today, the Three Bigs are a VCR, a motorcycle, and a telephone. A rumor claimed that a family who lived in a house without electricity bought a washer and used it to store grain.



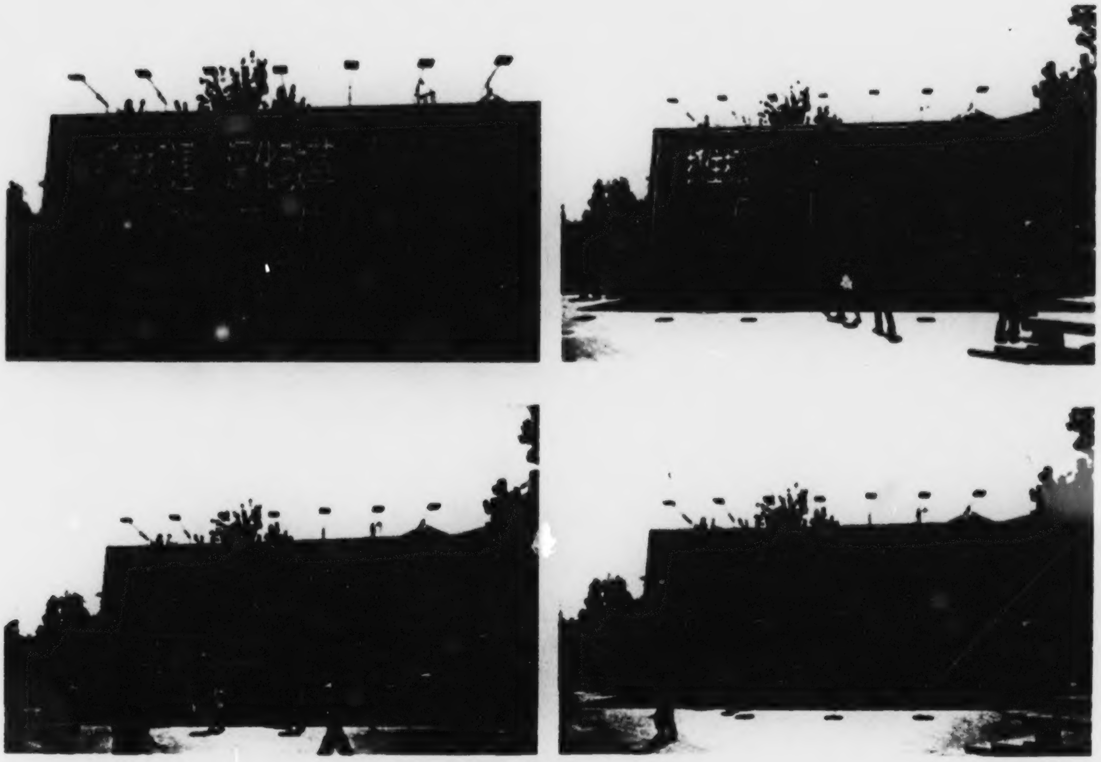
Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare to those mentioned by Group #11. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Billboard advertisement and telephone booths—recent additions to life in big cities.

handout #14

Joint ventures and foreign-owned business have pressured China's state-run enterprises to improve the quality and variety of their products in order to compete in the rapidly expanding domestic and global market. As the Chinese consumers' affluence continues to rise, brand name, prestige, quality, and good value are becoming new criteria by which consumers are making their purchasing decisions.



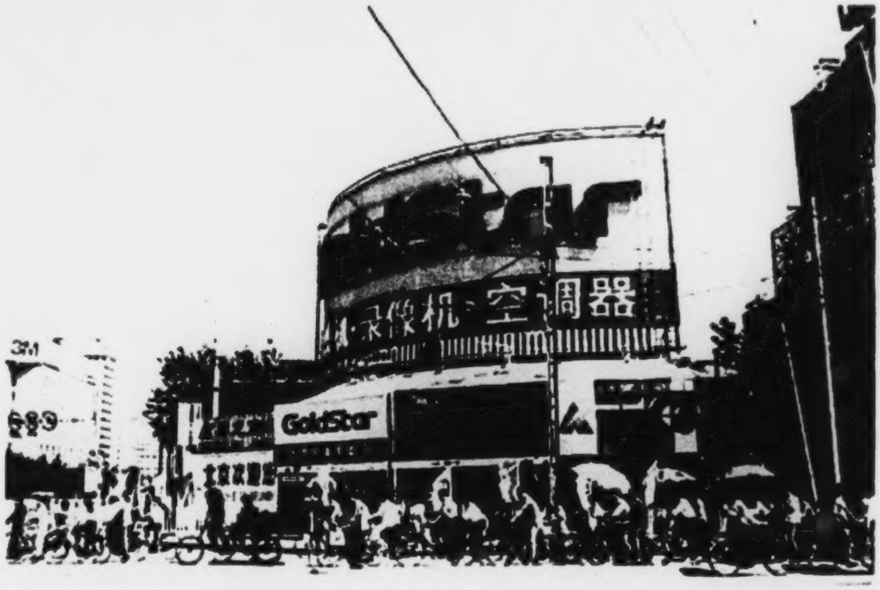
Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the images on your handout compare to those mentioned by Group #4. Create a caption for the visual images above, based on the excerpt and the images. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Government-owned rotating billboard in Beijing. Characters translate as "grasp opportunity, deepen reforms, enlarge liberalization, progress in development, maintain stability." XO Hennesy is an expensive, imported liquor.

handout #15

Deng Xiaoping has called China's unique economic system *market-socialism*, a seeming contradiction in terms. Originally the Party rationalized the introduction of capitalist forces as a temporary phase in China's socialist revolution, necessary for the development of China's infrastructure and technology. However, as Chinese become increasingly exposed to capitalist forces and connected to global processes, China's Communist Party and governmental leaders face mounting challenges to their ideological legitimacy and authoritarian control. Inequality, materialism, discrimination, greed, corruption and crime flourish alongside increased economic freedom, opportunity and prosperity. The development of communication systems and foreign economic partnerships increases China's transparency, particularly in the area of human rights. Students demand democratic reform while the United States uses economic policy to discipline Chinese authorities and influence their conduct. Once proud and determined to remain self-reliant, China is now a significant player in the global economy. China's sovereign borders become increasingly porous, as she aspires to define her role as a leading economic power in a changing world system.



handout #15

Group Task

Read the excerpt above and summarize the information for a brief presentation to the rest of the class. During the other group presentations to the class, consider how the issues represented by the image on your handout compare to those mentioned by Group #3. Create a caption for the visual image above, based on the excerpt and the image. Prepare to share this with the class as well.

Photo explanation: Beijing intersection. Goldstar and 3M, multinational corporations from South Korea and the United States, contrast with man hauling coal on bicycle.

© SPICE

Nike departmental brief

TECHNOLOGY DEPARTMENT

Before reading your departmental brief, read through the questions on the third page of this handout. Consider these questions as you read through this description.

In the past, most shoes in China had been made by hand. Expensive running shoes had not been a priority of the government. Basic, army-green canvas shoes had sufficed, and had been provided to the Chinese population at minimal cost. Therefore, when Nike first came to China, the process of making high-quality running shoes was practically unknown in China. The limited machinery China did have available in the footwear industry was very outdated.

Nike's shoes are a relatively labor-intensive product. A lot more work is required to sew and glue all the pieces together to make a shoe than it takes to stamp out a sheet of metal by a machine. China has an abundance of labor and, partly due to the size of the labor force, tends to be cheaper than Nike's suppliers in other countries. Largely for this reason, Nike viewed China as an inexpensive production source.

In return for providing foreign companies with incentives and a favorable business climate to do business in China, the Chinese government expected some important benefits. The Chinese government hoped that the foreign investors would aid in the development of local infrastructure. Improved roads or a reliable source of energy, for example, benefit both China's development and foreign business operations. The Chinese government also anticipated that foreign companies in China would provide increased job opportunities for local people in need of employment. As a result of the introduction to more technologically advanced machinery, the assistance in infrastructure development projects, and the cultivation of technical and managerial expertise in the local labor force, the Chinese authorities believed conducting business with foreigners would also be in the interest of China.

Nike brought some of the initial machines for Nike production in China from South Korea. Because none of the Chinese Nike employees spoke English or had experience using the machines, the Nike managers decided to bring Chinese-speaking managers and machine workers from Taiwan or South Korea to the Chinese factories to train them. However, for diplomatic reasons (China has not established relations with Taiwan since the Nationalists fled there from China following their defeat by the Chinese Communists party in 1949, and China had fought for the North Koreans against U.S.-supported South Korea in the Korean War of 1950-53), South Korean trainers instructed the Chinese workers by videotape. Nike managers observed that Nike's shoes required a lot of preplanning and coordination, and the Chinese system couldn't be changed overnight. Nike had to be flexible.

As far as the Chinese were concerned, they were doing their best to cope with Nike's quickly changing demands. When Nike and the Tianjin Factory #2 in China, for example, signed their first five-year contract, they agreed to produce 80,000 pairs of One-Line (one particular model) shoes. Two years later, after the factory had made great progress in both quality and quantity of shoe production, the Tianjin Factory was producing two models. That year, before production for a third planned model had begun, Nike told the Tianjin Factory that unless it agreed to produce eight new models in a four- or five-month period, Nike would unilaterally terminate the contract. After the Tianjin Factory had gone into debt setting up new buildings and purchasing special equipment to serve Nike, accepted many other unexpected changes and demands that Nike had placed on them, and cooperated in many other areas of production, the Tianjin authorities and factory managers were frustrated by Nike's demands that they perceived as unrealistic and unfair, and disgruntled with what they perceived as a lack of commitment and understanding by Nike.

In 1984, Nike terminated the contract and moved its operations to special economic zones (SEZs) in southern China. The Chinese government began to establish SEZs in 1979 to attract foreign investment to China by providing particularly good incentives, policies, and privileges to foreigners. The SEZs were also designed to host industrial and educational structures needed to import, absorb, and link the advanced technologies and modern scientific information of foreign companies with domestic development.

Generally speaking, 15 years after the establishment of the first SEZ, the transferring and absorption of manufacturing technology for which China originally hoped has not entirely occurred. Many of the foreign companies go to China to do business and take advantage of its vast, and consequently relatively cheap, labor supply. For this reason, China is an inexpensive place to manufacture labor-intensive goods. Technologically advanced production requires less and highly-skilled labor. As a result of Hong Kong ventures in China, for example, only about 5 percent of the ventures involve "advanced" technology compared to 36 percent involving "intermediate technology," and 59 percent involving "obsolete" technology. Furthermore, many industries require a long-term commitment, consistent policies, and a higher degree of political stability in China to risk large technological and capital investments.

Nike continues to use its Chinese factories to manufacture many of its shoes. Working in the SEZs has proven to be much easier and more profitable for Nike because the services needed by Nike factories are better developed. Indeed, production, equipment, and the integration of locally supplied materials has become more sophisticated as the China-Nike relationship has developed and strengthened. How much of this success is a result of technological advancement, however, is difficult to say.

TECHNOLOGY DEPARTMENT MEETING NOTES

1. Does your department think technology is an important factor in Nike's decision about whether or not to stay in China? List three reasons why or why not.

   1)

   2)

   3)

2. Based on the Chinese authorities' expectations of technology transfer, is it important for China to encourage Nike to stay in China? Why or why not?

3. At the board meeting, ask the Infrastructure Department and the Labor Department if they are experiencing any problems due to the level of technology and manufacturing skills in China. Are there prospects for improvement in these areas? Record their answers.

4. What is the Technology Department's final recommendation to the CEO? Should Nike continue to manufacture Nike products in China?

5. If your department's recommendation to the CEO is to stay in China, are there any conditions attached to ensure the positive development of future prospects?

LABOR DEPARTMENT

Before reading your departmental brief, read through the questions on the fourth page of this handout. Consider these questions as you read through this description.

Special Economic Zones (SEZs) are specifically designated areas along China's coast where the Chinese government has allowed some aspects of capitalism to flourish. For example, businesses from other countries, like the United States and Japan, are encouraged by the Chinese government to set up factories in China's Special Economic Zones to take advantage of China's large and relatively cheap labor force. China's population is the largest in the world, and a lot of people means a lot of labor.

Under the socialist system, every person in China was promised a job for all of his or her life. However, in order to provide jobs, housing, medicine, child care, and even food and clothes for the entire Chinese population, the government could only afford to pay very low salaries. And in order to maintain equality among workers, the government offered few incentives for workers to work harder than necessary, especially because their jobs were guaranteed regardless of performance. Therefore, few of China's factories were efficient or competitive. As the population continued to grow, the Chinese government didn't have enough jobs for everyone. The economic reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping required that some government-run factories become more efficient and competitive, and as a result, for the first time in socialist China, many workers were laid off and left unemployed. By encouraging foreign businesses to come to China to take advantage of the abundant (and therefore cheap) labor, new jobs would be created for the displaced workers.

By inviting foreign firms to enter China and use Chinese labor to manufacture foreign goods, like Nike shoes, the government was allowing new methods of management, production, and business to be introduced to China as well. This is why specific SEZs were established: the government wanted to keep control of foreign influences by containing them in designated areas. Shenzhen (*shen jen*) is the first and largest of China's SEZs. Shenzhen, located in southern China directly north of Hong Kong, is the SEZ where Nike ultimately established its base in China.

The great majority of the workers in China's small and medium-sized businesses in China's SEZs are lured by rumors of more and better employment than in their own impoverished, inland provinces (Chinese states). Generally, they are poorly paid, poorly educated, and without the official residence permits required by the Chinese government to legally qualify for housing, health care, and other programs available to city residents. Workers who are not immigrants from other provinces must compete for the low-wage and high-risk jobs, many involving dangerous machinery or conditions. Workers recognize that they can be easily replaced by the flow of immigrants who have no choice but to accept cheaper wages and minimal working and living conditions. If workers from other provinces outside the SEZ rebel or are injured, they either quietly leave the company and return to their villages or face trouble as illegal immigrant workers. Complaints often lead to dismissal. Although foreign companies tend to offer higher pay and more opportunity than old government enterprises, the conditions for unskilled workers remain minimal. They work long hours with few weekends or holidays. Forced overtime; filthy, hazardous and crowded living quarters; dysentery;

© SPICE

and under-age labor are not uncommon. There are also reports of physical mistreatment.

There were 65,000 fatal industrial accidents in China between 1988 and 1992, according to official statistics. Labor activists say the true number is much higher, and the number of injured workers is in the millions. In 1993, there were 206 fatal factory fires, nearly half of which were in the Shenzhen SEZ. Needing to attract foreign investment and jobs, the Chinese government has given both local and foreign companies a green light to violate the most basic standards of industrial health and safety, tolerating conditions that violate its own labor laws. For example, an owner of a foreign toy factory bribed Chinese governmental safety inspectors with $389 for an "approved" factory safety inspection. Soon after, faulty wiring, iron-barred windows, and welded-closed exit gates resulted in a fire that killed 84 of the teenage girls working there.

The Chinese government has passed many regulations concerning fire prevention, ventilation, and other standards for factories and company dormitories. China also has a trade union called the All China Federal Trade Union (ACFTU); however, it is controlled by the government. Because the government wants to attract foreign investors and businesses to China, it reassures foreign business owners that workers and governmental officials will be cooperative, with little or no union activity. As a result, some foreign businesses flagrantly exploit workers, which increasingly results in workers' unrest—unrest that periodically gives the government problems, and also tarnishes the image of products made in China. Not all foreign companies exploit Chinese workers, and companies like Nike and Levi Strauss, aware of the conditions surrounding them, have either left China, taking their jobs and investment with them; reduced production; or seriously reconsidered the value of manufacturing in China.

The most important issue Nike confronted regarding the Chinese employees concerned productivity and quality. In the past, most shoes in China's government-run factories had been made by hand. Expensive running shoes had not been a government priority in the program of national development. Basic, army-green canvas shoes had sufficed and were provided to the Chinese population at minimal cost. The process of making high-quality running shoes was virtually unknown in China. Workers in Chinese shoe factories generally had only an elementary school education, and Chinese factory managers lacked managerial training. Most had begun as workers 20 years earlier and were promoted to managerial positions only due to seniority or politics. As a result, Nike was concerned about second-rate quality.

In the past, Chinese factories packaged and used almost 100 percent of what they produced. After all, shoes were shoes; what did it matter if one had a cosmetic problem? As long as it functioned as a shoe, it was suitable to wear, and definitely better than nothing, which was all many people in China had in the 1940s, '50s, and '60s. Nike's Chinese employees were not familiar with Nike's particularly high standards. Furthermore, the Chinese initially did not accept the concept of defective returns. If they made a shoe, boxed it, and sent it to the United States, they felt they had done their part of the contract. If a defective shoe was returned nine months later, they felt that the shoe was no longer their responsibility. And why destroy C-grade shoes rather than sell them locally? Nike wanted to stand behind its product and maintain its consistent, high-quality image, but felt the Chinese weren't familiar with the "name brand" concept. Nike managers tried to explain that Chinese shoes are sold as equals and must, therefore, meet international standards.

Secondly, due to the fact that under the Chinese socialist system workers were guaranteed a job and pay regardless of performance, and promotions were based mostly on seniority or politics, workers had few incentives to produce more than was necessary or to work efficiently. Consequently, Nike found that their employees generally lacked motivation, decision-making capabilities, and a background in managing factories. Nike felt that it was very difficult to transfer skills and attitudes to Chinese workers who had been raised in a completely different working environment and system. As a result, the employees didn't follow the production schedules designed by Nike according to expectations Nike management had formed through its experience working in other Asian countries. As a result, Nike's China operation wasn't producing the number of shoes necessary to fill its orders.

To remedy the situation, Nike introduced its own incentive program based on the Chinese employees' performance. Establishing certain criteria based on productivity, quality, and delivery, Nike managers offered cash bonuses to all workers who met the requirements. The results were mixed: there was a surge in production at first, but it soon diminished. Only two of the seven Nike foreign residents spoke Chinese, and none of the Chinese employees at the factory spoke English, so Nike also prepared many manuals to define the company methods and philosophy. Nike also hired a Chinese inspector for each factory.

Nike managers believe that the employees were willing to learn, but just lacked exposure to outside ideas and management styles. The low cost of labor in China is definitely a big incentive for Nike to stay in Shenzhen, but if the rate and quality of production doesn't increase soon, then the cost of manufacturing shoes in China might remain too high.

© SPICE

LABOR DEPARTMENT MEETING NOTES

1. How important is China's low cost of labor to Nike?

2. Is it important for Nike to take into consideration the SEZ's reputation for labor conditions, even if Nike maintains fair and safe labor standards and practices?

3. Does China benefit from Nike's presence in China? Discuss whether the Chinese workers are gaining new expertise or other benefits from Nike. Ask members of Nike's Technology Department if they agree.

4. Are the benefits of manufacturing in China great enough for the other Nike departments so that it is worthwhile for the Labor Department to continue working with Chinese employees until productivity and quality meet Nike's expectations?

5. What is the Labor Department's recommendation to the CEO? Should Nike continue to manufacture shoes in China?

MARKETING DEPARTMENT

Before reading your departmental brief, read through the questions on the fourth page of this handout. Consider these questions as you read through this description.

The Marketing Department is responsible for researching, creating, and expanding Nike's market niche. In order for Nike to continue growing, new markets need to be developed in which to sell Nike products, and the Marketing Department is responsible for advertising and attracting new consumer groups. In order to market Nike products successfully, Nike's Marketing Department is also concerned with maintaining Nike's competitive edge, particularly in terms of prices and the image and reputation of Nike products. Thus, the Marketing Department must be aware of issues capable of impacting Nike's company image.

In the 1980s, Nike found that competitors such as Reebok were taking away some of Nike's customers. Increased competition is one reason why Nike investigated China as a prospective manufacturing site; Nike hoped that China's low labor costs and other benefits would enable Nike to offer its products at lower prices than its competitors. For these and other reasons, Nike began manufacturing shoes in China. In addition to developing international markets, Nike began selling shoes locally in China in 1988.

Prices

The price Nike would have to pay Chinese factories to produce Nike shoes was one of the main issues discussed in Nike's first negotiations with China. In order to justify doing business in China instead of in other Nike factories already established in Asia, China's factory prices had to be competitive with Nike's other production sources. The price of manufacturing shoes in China depends on many aspects of production, from governmental support to adequately paved roads. For example, Nike felt that China's difficult governmental bureaucracy contributed to inefficient production. The need to import many supplies from other countries (because China did not produce the supplies domestically) added unanticipated costs to production in China, and the above-average amount of Chinese-produced, *second*-rate quality products resulted in a high number of returns and a consequential loss of money. China's inadequate transportation system also generated expensive and time-consuming problems for Nike in China. Consequently, for the first few years of doing business in China, Nike argued that the cost of doing business there was higher than initially expected, despite China's inexpensive labor.

Nike has been able to work with Chinese workers, managers, and officials to resolve some of these past problems, and current and future developments may continue to improve Nike's operating conditions in China. Moving company headquarters from the city of Tianjin to the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) of Shenzhen (*shen-jen*) provided incentives to help reduce the indirect costs and hassles of doing business in China.

Product Image

Nike's product image is a vital factor contributing to Nike's marketing success. In Nike's 1994 Annual Report to its shareholders, Nike President Phil Knight wrote:

> The world is round. We are working to establish a brand integrity across its curved surface. If you abuse brand integrity in Singapore, your reputation will spread across Asia and ultimately back to the United States. So, too, will your successes. Your brand will come around.... If we do become truly global, we'll be a much better company and have a serious advantage on the competition. When that day comes, we will have an educated, integrated work force on the ground in every country, sharing a clear and current understanding with other NIKE-ites worldwide. A retailer in Singapore or Shanghai will be as important as one in New York. And every consumer will see a consistent, unwavering brand message.

In addition to competitive prices, the Marketing Department must be concerned with the quality of Nike products. Are Nike's shoes, for example, consistently made according to high standards? Furthermore, is Nike able to develop new styles to keep up with the market demands and trends? This is largely contingent on the quality of Chinese machines and labor.

Due to labor conditions in China, particularly in some of China's Special Economic Zones, as well as suppressed labor union activities, some companies risk their reputation by being associated with deplorable labor practices. Although Nike has its own ethical code of conduct, it is important for the Marketing Department to be aware of these kinds of human rights issues and the possible impact they could have on product sales and company image.

Another factor that could jeopardize Nike's reputation is transportation. Are Nike's goods delivered on time?

New Markets: China

Nike's 1994 Annual Report states:

> NIKE products are designed, developed, manufactured, transported, sold, and marketed in more than 90 countries on six continents. Of these, none is more important to NIKE's heritage and future than the Asia-Pacific region. Thirty-two factories throughout Asia produce NIKE shoes. These producing nations are rapidly becoming consumer nations... In the long term, all look to China. There are 60 million people with an income of $1,000 or more per year, the level at which consumerism flourishes. There is a department store in Guangzhou that hosts 300,000 shoppers on any given weekend day. And, when NIKE opened a Concept Shop in Shanghai, extra security was required to control the throng of shoppers lined up in pre-dawn anticipation.

Although Nike initially viewed China as a place to produce shoes relatively cheaply for export to other countries, it was difficult for Nike not to dream about eventually selling its shoes *within* China. China is the most populous country in the world, with over a billion people—one-fourth of humanity. Visions of two billion feet floated in Nike's minds, although in the beginning, Nike was not optimistic about selling its shoes locally. The product was made for the affluent consumer, and the Chinese were more interested in producing then consuming.

However, the number of retail outlets in China has mushroomed from 2 million in 1979 to over 12 million in 1994. Under China's socialist system, marketing and advertising were condemned as bourgeois propaganda. Advertisements and businesses that develop techniques to attract consumers to buy products weren't needed in China under the old system. The government only permitted necessities to be produced, emphasizing practicality and equality instead of leisure or brand name products. Now, due to the recent, capitalistic-oriented reforms, enterprises that were once considered capitalist evils now play an active role in providing services throughout China. For example, companies are researching China's emerging market in order to understand regional and cultural differences, and both the needs and material desires of specific consumer groups. As the standard of living continues to rise and a new generation comes of age in an atmosphere of economic reform and financial gain, materialism is now rampant in all major Chinese cities and spreading through the countryside.

Advertising

While advertising is an obvious way to attract a market to a product, various limitations make advertising more a privilege than an option. Advertising space is limited, and rates can be exorbitant. As a result, many companies are turning to promotions, sponsorships, samples, workshops, and trade seminars as ways to introduce their products to a new market. Nike, for example, outfitted the 1992 Chinese Olympic Team in Nike products, and in 1994, flew a United States' NBA team into Beijing to play the Chinese national basketball team. Meanwhile, Nike has held numerous sports clinics and sponsored many other Chinese sports teams domestically. Nike realizes that once just being in China generated hopes of certain, eventual sales. Today, however, Chinese consumers are offered a vast variety of brands, both Chinese and foreign, resulting in a marketing process that increasingly becomes more competitive and complex.

MARKETING DEPARTMENT MEETING NOTES

1. The price of manufacturing shoes in China depends on many aspects of production, from governmental support to adequately paved roads. During the board meeting, take notes on the experiences of other Nike departments since moving to the Special Economic Zone of Shenzhen (*shen-jen*) to decide whether *their* department problems and prospects will impact the Marketing Department by reducing Nike's cost of production in China. You may ask different departments questions during the board meeting. Record the relevant experiences below.

2. Your Marketing Department is concerned with the quality and variety of Nike products. At the board meeting, ask the Labor Department and the Technology Department if Nike has experienced any problems in China that might impact Nike's product quality. Record their answers below.

3. At the board meeting, ask the Infrastructure Department if China's transportation system is reliable. Discuss whether or not the conditions will improve.

4. Are human rights issues important to the Marketing Department? Ask the Department of Company Ethics how manufacturing products in China may impact successful marketing.

5. From the Marketing Department's point of view, does the prospect of exploding Chinese consumerism balance out the department's other problems?

6. Following the board meeting, discuss the answers to the above questions with other members of the Marketing Department. List three reasons why Nike should or should not continue to manufacture Nike products in China.

   1)

2)

3)

Follow your list with a written recommendation to the CEO of Nike. Should Nike continue to manufacture Nike products in China?

Nike departmental brief

SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT

Before reading your departmental brief, read through the questions on the third page of this handout. Consider these questions as you read through this description.

In order to manufacture shoes in China, Nike needs a variety of materials, such as nylon, canvas, rubber, and chemical compounds. Nike signed supply contracts with seven different factories in several of China's Special Economic Zones (SEZs). The negotiations to set up the contracts were strenuous and time-consuming because Nike had to deal with many different governmental officials to obtain a variety of approvals.

Especially in the beginning of Nike's experience in China, the Chinese factories continually lacked local materials. Only about one-third of Nike's needs were available locally in China, and even these were sometimes difficult to obtain. Bureaucratic obstacles were one reason. For example, although Shanghai had sufficient canvas for all Nike factories, to ship it to Nike's first factory location in Tianjin required prior approval from at least six governmental ministries.

Nike found it easier to import canvas from Taiwan or South Korea. Nylon also had to be imported. However, suppliers in different countries often were ambivalent about providing their competitors in China with materials. Furthermore, custom officials in China who received the goods held negative attitudes toward Taiwan stemming back to China's civil war in the 1930s and 1940s. As a result, supply shipments often arrived deliberately damaged, and Chinese custom officials could assess fines or pose other major difficulties for Nike, depending on their moods. The consequential delay in receiving materials cost Nike a great deal of time, frustration, and money. The nonavailability of local materials was not only a detriment to Nike's production goals, but also undermined China's economic goals by supporting other competitive Asian countries.

Ordering supplies without problems usually took six weeks. To guarantee normal production schedules, Nike needed to know *in advance* which supplies needed to be reordered. Nike complained that the Chinese factory managers did not keep adequate inventory records, and their planners did not recognize the importance of the time factor in ordering and production. In the past, China's socialist government was responsible for providing supplies for factories, and was not as concerned with timely delivery to state-run stores. Thus, recognizing that these problems were a result of inexperience, Nike trained Chinese managers in inventory control and efficient scheduling.

After Nike moved its factory headquarters from Tianjin to Shenzhen, its new factories were located in a Special Economic Zone, closer to some of its suppliers. Other aspects of being located in a SEZ, such as improved transportation facilities and reduced bureaucratic hassles, also have helped to improve Nike's supply situation. As Shenzhen continues to develop, Nike's Supply Department is hoping to find more of its supplies manufactured locally, which would allow Nikes to gradually reduce its need to import supplies from other countries. This would be beneficial to Nike, as well as to China's economic development goals.

Nike departmental brief

SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT MEETING NOTES

1. At the board meeting, ask the Department of Government Relations and Regulations if Nike's move to a Special Economic Zone might help reduce the Supplies Department's frustration with governmental bureaucracy. If so, ask why the Chinese government is willing to simplify governmental issues for the benefit of foreign companies. Record the response below.

2. At the board meeting, discuss transportation issues with the Infrastructure Department. How will developments in this area help or worsen Nike's current supply problems?

3. In the past, Nike has had to import supplies from other countries. How has this impacted business for Nike? How does this undermine China's economic goals?

4. How did Nike managers in China try to resolve some of the problems confronting the Supplies Department?

5. Based on the past problems and the prospects for the future, does the Supplies Department recommend to the CEO of Nike to continue or terminate operations in China?

© SPICE

Nike departmental brief

DEPARTMENT OF
GOVERNMENT RELATIONS AND REGULATIONS

Before reading your departmental brief, read through the questions on the fourth page of this handout. Consider these questions as you read through this description.

In 1979, following decades of socialism and self-reliance, China began to open its doors the outside world. In 1981, Premier Zhao Ziyang described the reasons for the new Open Door policy:

> By linking our country with the world market, expanding foreign trade, importing advanced technology, utilizing foreign capital, and entering into different forms of international economic and technological cooperation, we can use our strong points to make up for our weak points through international exchange on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Far from impairing our capacity for self-reliant action, this will only serve to enhance it. In economic work, we must abandon once and for all the ideal of self-sufficiency, which is characteristic of the natural economy. All ideas and actions based on keeping our door closed to the outside world and sticking to conventions are wrong...Ours is a sovereign, socialist state. In accordance with the principle of equality and mutual benefit, foreigners are welcome to invest in China and launch joint ventures in opening up mines and running factories or other undertakings, but they must respect China's sovereignty and abide by her laws, policies, and decrees.

Prior to the economic reforms, China's economy was planned by high-level Communist party members and governmental leaders according to China's developmental priorities. Mechanisms such as prices helped the government carry out its developmental and economic plans. Prices were not based on market needs and demands, but rather set by the government. For example, basic food and basic clothing were cheap, while luxury items like lipstick or pet food were extremely expensive and publicly scorned. As the Open Door policy and economic reforms evolve, however, the economy is being slowly restructured to become more responsive to consumer needs and desires. Gradually, foreign and nonessential or leisure products are being introduced to the emerging Chinese market. As a result of these reforms and foreign investment in China, China's economy has boomed. Consumerism is aided by an increasing standard of living in China.

Chinese Government's Relations with Nike

From the beginning of Nike's dealings with China, Nike tried to establish a positive relationship with the Chinese government through such means as contributing to the country's sport activities. For example, Nike held "sports clinics" to train Chinese athletes and equipped China's national 1984 Olympic team. Nike also hosted various Chinese officials when they came to the United States.

Nike departmental brief

When Nike started doing business in China, China's important governmental officials received Nike warmly. Because Nike had never manufactured in China before, Nike didn't know which city or province would be the best place to work. Therefore, having no preferences, Nike followed the Chinese government's recommendation to set up shop in Tianjin, an industrial port city relatively near the capital of Beijing. During their first few years working in the Tianjin factory, however, Nike found the factory's quality of production low. Furthermore, Nike officials became increasingly frustrated with the Chinese bureaucracy.

High-ranking governmental leaders courted Nike officials so that Nike might form a joint venture with China (that is, a business that is owned and operated half by China and half by a foreign company, such as China's cooperative venture with Nike). However, when Nike started trying to do their daily manufacturing in Tianjin, Nike officials found the lower, more local governmental bureaucracy much less cooperative and supportive. In fact, when Nike had a problem concerning a particular aspect of Nike's Tianjin operations, Nike officials often didn't know who in China's large and complicated bureaucracy to turn to for help or information. This was made worse by the fact that China did not have much experience dealing with foreign businesses in China. The lower officials themselves were not always clear how to proceed with new economic policies and foreign relationships. For these and many other reasons that affected Nike's other departments, by 1983 Nike concluded that the Tianjin factory location was not the ideal place to work in China.

Nike's termination of the contract with the Tianjin factory disgruntled Tianjin officials. They felt the termination of the agreement was unfair, despite the small compensation Nike offered the Chinese authorities involved with the factory. The Chinese managers and officials felt that they had invested a great deal of time and resources in the Tianjin factories to accommodate Nike, and finally were beginning to understand and practice Nike's philosophy of brand-name quality manufacturing. Chinese officials asked Nike to reconsider the decision to leave Tianjin.

In the end, Nike decided to move its operations to Shenzhen (*shen-jen*), the first and largest Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in the south of China. Special Economic Zones were developed to attract foreign businesses and investment to China by promising foreign companies less bureaucratic red tape and more decentralized authority for decision making than in other areas in China. For Nike, this meant that the governmental bureaucracy would be more cooperative, supportive, and comprehensible. Furthermore, in order to attract foreign businesses to China's SEZ, the Chinese government focused on developing the roads, ports, and business services and facilities in these specific areas. As another incentive to attract foreign investment to China, the Chinese government developed tax laws that are favorable to foreign companies operating in China. In 1985, Nike opened two new factories in Shenzhen. This was a positive move for Nike.

Crime, Laws, and Regulations

Nike's operations in Shenzhen have been much smoother and advantageous. However, due to the relative lack of regulations and bureaucracy in the SEZs, as well as the presence of profitable businesses and technology, economic crime has increasingly become a negative issue for foreign business to consider before entering an SEZ like Shenzhen. Economic crimes include such problems as fraud and counterfeiting, embezzlement, bribery, tax evasion, and copyright violations (the act of illegally copying products such as CDs and computer software, as well as other originally designed products for another company's own use and sale). The Chinese government has taken steps to combat the increase in crime, including new laws and regulations. In addition, press coverage of major economic crimes and the severity of punishment for criminals have increased, including the use of the death sentence in high-profile cases of embezzlement and smuggling. However, despite the government's attempts to control these crimes, major cases of economic crimes reported between 1992 and 1993 rose 93 percent and continue to persist today. Nike, in particular, found "fake" Nike shoes and unauthorized shoes similar to Nike's being manufactured by other companies in China. So far, Nike's problems have been solved.

For many companies, even if crimes are detected, it is not guaranteed that the crime will be punished, or the foreign company compensated for its losses. Because China has been developing so quickly, many of the Chinese laws and regulations, particularly in the SEZs, are relatively new and often not enforced. For example, bribery remains an important method to speed the flow of paperwork through the bureaucracy. This indirect way of doing business can frustrate many foreigners. On the other hand, disregarded environmental regulations or the exploitation of Chinese labor by foreign businesses may be dismissed by Chinese willing to close their eyes or accept foreign bribes in order to please and maintain foreign businesses and investment in China.

Therefore, the lack of regulation can work both for and against foreign firms in China. In the long run, China may continue to crack down on both economic crimes, as well as some foreign businesses' disregard for regulatory laws. Although most of these issues do not pertain to Nike directly, they are present in the atmosphere in which Nike must operate. Meanwhile, the longer Nike stays in China, the more familiar Nike's American managers become with China's bureaucracy, policies, and customs, and the more familiar China becomes to the foreign ways of doing business.

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT RELATIONS AND REGULATIONS MEETING NOTES

1. How has the new Open Door policy and economic reforms impacted China's economy?

2. Briefly trace the evolution of Nike's relationship with Chinese authorities and the governmental bureaucracy.

3. Why did Nike decide to move its factory headquarters to Shenzhen (*shen-jen*)?

4. How did working in a Chinese Special Economic Zone impact Nike's operations in China, particularly in regard to your department?

5. At the board meeting, listen to other departments to learn if moving to a SEZ improved Nike's operations from their point of view. Record your notes below.

6. List three of the current regulatory problems foreign companies may experience in China. Do these problems affect Nike?

   1)

   2)

   3)

7. At the board meeting, ask the Labor Department about governmental regulations concerning labor unions.

© SPICE

8. At the board meeting, ask the Technology Department if China's governmental relations with other countries have affected relations with Nike.

9. Does your department recommend to the CEO that Nike continue or terminate production in China?

Nike departmental brief

DEPARTMENT OF COMPANY ETHICS

Before reading your departmental brief, read through the questions on the fourth page of this handout. Consider these questions as you read through this description.

The most important issue confronting Nike's Department of Company Ethics concerns China's labor practices and conditions, particularly in China's Special Economic Zones (SEZs). Nike's headquarters are now located in Shenzhen (*shen-jen*), China's first and largest SEZ.

Special Economic Zones (SEZs) are specifically designated areas along China's coast where the Chinese government has allowed some aspects of capitalism to flourish. For example, businesses from other countries, like the United States and Japan, are encouraged by the Chinese government to set up factories in China's Special Economic Zones to take advantage of China's large and relatively cheap labor force. China's population is the largest in the world, and a lot of people means a lot of labor.

Under the socialist system, every person in China was promised a job for all of his or her life. However, in order to provide jobs, housing, medicine, child care, and even food and clothes for the entire Chinese population, the government could only afford to pay very low salaries. And in order to maintain equality among workers, the government offered few incentives for workers to work harder than necessary, especially their jobs were guaranteed regardless of performance. Therefore, few of China's factories were efficient or competitive. As the population continued to grow, the Chinese government didn't have enough jobs for everyone. The economic reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping required that some government-run factories become more efficient and competitive, and as a result, for the first time in socialist China, many workers were laid off and left unemployed. By encouraging foreign businesses to come to China to take advantage of the abundant (and therefore cheap) labor, new jobs would be created for the displaced workers.

By inviting foreign firms to enter China and use Chinese labor to manufacture foreign goods, like Nike shoes, the government was allowing new methods of management, production, and business to be introduced to China as well. This is why specific SEZs were established: the government wanted to keep control of foreign influences by containing them in designated areas. Shenzhen (*shen jen*) is the first and largest of China's SEZs. Shenzhen, located in southern China directly north of Hong Kong, is the SEZ where Nike ultimately established its base in China.

The great majority of the workers in China's small and medium-sized businesses in China's SEZs are lured by rumors of more and better employment than in their own impoverished, inland provinces (Chinese states). Generally, they are poorly paid, poorly educated, and without the official residence permits required by the Chinese government to legally qualify for housing, health care, and other programs available to city residents. Workers who are not immigrants from other provinces must compete for the low-wage and high-risk jobs, involving dangerous machinery or conditions. Workers recognize that they can be easily replaced by the flow of immigrants who have no choice but to accept cheaper wages and minimal working and living conditions. If workers from other provinces outside the SEZ rebel or are injured, they either quietly leave the company and return to their villages or face trouble as illegal immigrant workers. Complaints often lead to dismissal. Although foreign companies tend to offer higher pay and more opportunity than old government enterprises, the conditions for unskilled workers remain minimal. They work long hours with few weekends or holidays. Forced overtime; filthy, hazardous and crowded living quarters; dysentery; and under-age labor are not uncommon. There are also reports of physical mistreatment.

There were 65,000 fatal industrial accidents in China between 1988 and 1992, according to official statistics. Labor activists say the true number is much higher, and the number of injured workers is in the millions. In 1993, there were 206 fatal factory fires, nearly half of which were in the Shenzhen SEZ. Needing to attract foreign investment and jobs, the Chinese government has given both local and foreign companies a green light to violate the most basic standards of industrial health and safety, tolerating conditions that violate its own labor laws. For example, an owner of a foreign toy factory bribed Chinese governmental safety inspectors with $389 for an "approved" factory safety inspection. Soon after, faulty wiring, iron-barred windows, and welded-closed exit gates resulted in a fire that killed 84 of the teenage girls working there.

The Chinese government has passed many regulations concerning fire-prevention, ventilation, and other standards for factories and company dormitories. In fact, a new law also bans child labor; prohibits discrimination based on race, nationality, sex or religion; requires local governments to set and enforce a minimum wage; and establishes the eight-hour day and 44 hour workweek. China also has a trade union called the All China Federal Trade Union (ACFTU) to represent the interests of workers; however, it is controlled by the government. Because the government wants to attract foreign investors and businesses to China, it reassures foreign business owners that workers and governmental officials will be cooperative, with little or no union activity.

The government has asked all foreign businesses to register in China's labor union system, but has not strictly enforced the demand. In fact, Communist party officials, especially at the provincial and local levels, have moved to crush labor unrest because they fear an active labor movement will scare off foreign investors. As a result, some foreign businesses flagrantly exploit workers, which increasingly results in workers' unrest—unrest that periodically gives the government problems, and also tarnishes the image of products made in China. Not all foreign companies exploit Chinese workers, and companies like Nike, Sears, Reebok, and Levi Strauss, for example, aware of the conditions surrounding them, have either left China, taking their jobs and investment with them; reduced production; created their own company ethical standards; or seriously reconsidered the value of manufacturing in China.

Nike does not own any of the factories in China that manufacture Nike products. All the manufacturing is done on a contract basis; Nike "buys" its finished products from the factory. Nike regional headquarters has designated two staffers to visit the main plants to look for labor violations and unsafe conditions. One problem for many businesses, however, is the inability to regulate the conditions of all the subcontractors, such as the factories that manufacture the supplies such as rubber, nylon, and canvas that are used by bigger companies like Nike.

Members in the United States Congress and Senate have tried repeatedly to deny China of its "Most Favored Nation" status (a policy that allows China to enjoy special trade privileges with the United States) as a way of protesting China's human rights abuses. Those in favor of renewing China's MFN status argue that the United States must not isolate China by employing punitive trade measures and thereby drastically reducing Chinese trade. This, they argue, would hinder China's development and exposure to foreign, particularly U.S., business practices and ideas —practices and ideas that work to improve conditions in China. The business community also argues that commercial ties, examples of good working conditions, and employee contact with the outside world through faxes and e-mail, for example, promote the goals of greater freedom and openness.

Despite some governmental leaders' efforts, China still maintains MFN status. President Clinton has urged companies to adopt a voluntary "set of principles" for their operations. Such an ethical code for companies would guarantee decent working conditions, renounce prison labor, and commit U.S. executives to actively promote human rights.

In response, many corporate executives say that business is business, not politics and human rights. Some business leaders fear that a human rights stance would cost them opportunities in China, as the Chinese government would react negatively to U.S. posturing and interference with China's domestic policies. More importantly, some claim, the competitors of U.S. companies who do not abide by such principles will be able to under-price and out-sell U.S. businesses in China.

It is the responsibility of this department to form Nike's ethical code of conduct in China. Due to the intensity and controversy inherent in this department, many issues must be carefully considered and be integrated into a recommendation to the CEO as to whether or not Nike should stay in China and continue manufacturing Nike products.

DEPARTMENT OF COMPANY ETHICS MEETING NOTES

1. What is the main issue confronting Nike's Department of Company Ethics?

2. Why did the Chinese government establish Special Economic Zones (SEZs)?

3. Why are labor conditions a problem, particularly in China's SEZs?

4. Has the Chinese government established any laws or regulations to help resolve these problems? Are they effectively enforced?

5. Do these issues impact Nike? If so, how?

6. What is MFN status? At the board meeting, describe this policy to the Labor Department and the Department of Government Relations and Regulations. Ask their opinion of the U.S. government's debate over whether or not the United States should renew China's MFN status every year. Record their response below.

7. How do members in your department think the United States could best convey its human rights concerns to China, and what role does business play in promoting American values overseas?

Nike departmental brief

8. Does your department recommend to the CEO that Nike continue or terminate production in China?

INFRASTRUCTURE DEPARTMENT

Before reading your departmental brief, read through the questions on the fourth page of this handout. Consider these questions as you read through this description.

The Infrastructure Department is responsible for Nike's transportation, energy, and land needs. In order for Nike's factories to operate, they need utilities such as telephones, electricity, and water as well as transportation facilities such as roads, airports, and sea ports to get supplies into the factories and the finished products out to market. Adequate infrastructure is essential for production operations to run smoothly.

UTILITIES

Communication

Although Shenzhen has made rapid advancements in the development of its telecommunications network over the past few years, cost and reliability continue to be concerns for many foreign businesses. The communication system was quite outmoded when Nike began its operations in China. For example, a person could not make a direct phone call between major cities or to other countries. The procedure was complicated, time-consuming, and unreliable. In addition, many of Nike's local suppliers did not have telephones to call. As a result, communication was difficult, if possible at all. Now most major cities in China are connected to an international AT&T direct-dial service, and more and more companies are getting phones. Due to the huge demand, however, some cities have long waiting lists. It will be several years before the system is developed enough to handle such a large capacity of new lines.

Electricity

Shenzhen developed rapidly, attracting many foreign businesses. Consequently, the demand for electric power increased rapidly. Although Chinese authorities have been trying to build electric facilities as quickly as possible, the demand for electricity has been exceeding the supply. As a result, businesses in Shenzhen often experience "electric gridlock." Electric gridlock is like a traffic jam in the city's electric wires. Too many factories and businesses use electricity all at one time, and as a result, a fuse is blown, and a power outage or a "brown-out" occurs. Some factories have to purchase back-up generators to use in case this happens, or else they must stop production until electric service is restored. Either way, these delays cause a great inconvenience for companies, resulting in a loss of production and money. Slowly power supplies are being developed and improved.

Water

The water supply in Shenzhen is adequate for both domestic and industrial use. In fact, the ample supply of fresh water from the local hills of Shenzhen keeps the cost for water quite low.

Transportation

Transportation is an important aspect of business for Nike. If transportation systems are inadequate, this will affect Nike's ability to access local supplies, to import materials unavailable domestically from other countries, and to deliver Nike products in a timely and reliable fashion. Transportation fundamentally impacts Nike's production and reputation.

Roads

Nike operates its own vehicles in Shenzhen, and also uses Chinese trucking companies to deliver its products to various locations. Only 13.4 percent of the roads in Guangdong (the province in which Shenzhen is located) are paved. Road traffic is growing between 20 and 30 percent a year. Thinly paved roads are deteriorating due to the increased use of modern heavy trucks and traffic. Traffic congestion is a serious problem in Shenzhen and continues to get worse as Shenzhen continues to grow. Although there have been many road improvements and new road construction projects in Shenzhen, including a six-lane super highway, these developments still do not meet the transportation needs of the area. The highway tolls, local fees, and inconvenience caused by traffic congestion add indirect costs to production in Shenzhen. However, development of Shenzhen's road system continues and eventually should service the local businesses adequately.

Railways

The railways will most likely be developed more slowly than other transportation systems for several reasons. Lack of rail lines to individual factories requires the loading of goods onto trucks. Because most of the distances are short and the products currently manufactured in Shenzhen tend to be light, like Nike's shoes and clothes, the need for rail transportation is diminished. Furthermore, most of the products made in Shenzhen are to be exported to other countries, which makes shipping more important for distribution than railroads. However, as China's domestic markets gradually open up to foreign products, railroads may become increasingly valuable. For this reason, as well as population growth in Shenzhen, several major rail systems are being installed between Hong Kong, Shenzhen, and the surrounding province. A large amount of money (estimated at three- to four-billion U.S. dollars) will be invested in new rail lines between 1993 and 1997.

Sea Ports

The government has only just begun to build and improve port facilities to handle large ships. Previously, Nike's shoes had to be transported to the nearest harbor and shipped to Japan where they were transferred into container vessels, then handled by a Japanese trading company. The closest dock to Shenzhen was old, and because of its condition, couldn't be used on rainy days. This caused Nike frequent delays in loading, resulting in missed delivery dates to Nike customers.

Port facilities have been built in cities a distance from Shenzhen, but still are able to serve some of Shenzhen's needs. These ports have limited capacity, however, and serve mostly domestic cargo instead of international trade. Most international cargo must be routed through Hong Kong, adding additional time and cost to the ocean voyage. A new port is being developed in Daqing (*da-ching*) Bay, nearer to Shenzhen, and is expected to be a major terminal for trade in the future. In fact, commodities shipped by sea are expected to increase 300 percent by the year 2000. However, access to adequate road systems remains essential to connect factories to the ports.

Airports

The opening of Shenzhen's Huangtian Airport in 1991 significantly increased passenger access to the SEZ area and provided needed air cargo facilities. In fact, although the airport has an eight million passenger capacity, its future emphasis will be on carrying air cargo. Both a highway and a regional rail system are expected to link the new airport with Hong Kong and Shenzhen within a few years.

Nike departmental brief

INFRASTRUCTURE DEPARTMENT MEETING NOTES

1. How do Shenzhen's utilities affect Nike's production in China?

2. How does Shenzhen's transportation system impact Nike's operations in China? At the board meeting, ask the Marketing Department and the Supplies Department if they have any comments regarding this issue. Record their responses below.

3. Which aspects of China's infrastructure are most important to Nike ? Why?

4. Which aspects of China's infrastructure need the most improvement?

5. At the board meeting, take notes on the issues raised by other departments. As members of the Infrastructure Department, discuss whether the prospects of other departments help justify Nike's continued patience while waiting for China's infrastructure to improve. Record your notes below.

6. Although foreign businesses are offered many advantages for doing business in China's Special Economic Zones, there are also some problems wrought by doing business in a developing country. List three advantages and disadvantages of doing business in China.

Advantages	Disadvantages
1)	1)
2)	2)
3)	3)

7. What is your department's final recommendation to Nike's CEO? From the Infrastructure Department's perspective, should Nike continue production in China?

© SPICE

Lesson 4

U.S.–SINO RELATIONS

WITH A FOCUS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Organizing Questions

- Do universal values exist? What are the advantages and disadvantages of having universal values? What are the alternatives to universal values?
- How do domestic events contribute to and cultivate people's values?
- Do all citizens of one nation necessarily hold the same values?
- How do domestic values of a nation relate to international values among different nations? To what extent can they conflict?
- How does the issue of human rights influence the U.S.-Sino relationship?

Introduction

One of the most prominent and provocative issues upon which the United States and the People's Republic of China have experienced varying amounts of tension is the issue of human rights. Indeed, understanding that the United States and China define and view human rights differently, students can more fully understand the difficulties that policymakers face in trying to formulate policy that addresses the issue of human rights, yet also considers the number of domestic and international perspectives within *both* the United States and China that sound policy should incorporate.

By engaging students in both full-class and small group activities, this lesson exposes students to those voices in the United States, China, and the world that ultimately contribute to varying perspectives on human rights. The overall goal of this lesson is to show students that one reason why the United States and China hold such differing views on issues of human rights is because the two nations value different priorities and therefore make different assumptions when discussing human rights. Activity 4A sets up the lesson by asking students to critically examine the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, an international document that is often held up as the standard of human rights to which all nations should subscribe. Although the Universal Declaration is usually *assumed* to be the international standard, in reality many nations do not accept its implications that human rights standards should be the same everywhere, regardless of individual nations' histories, cultures, or political situations. Among the nations that believe human rights is a domestic issue, not an international issue, is China, a fact which influences the U.S.-Sino relationship continually. Students will work with illustrations of this discrepancy in Activities 4B, 4C, 4D, and 4E. This lesson does not intend to give students an "easy answer" about the role of human rights in international relations but to expose students to the number of issues that makes relations between nations so complex.

Objectives

- to recognize that the relationship between two nations is influenced by a number of factors, most prominently different value systems
- to understand that different groups of people have differing perspectives on the same situation
- to explore a number of ways in which people can express their views about domestic and international events, whether they participate in these events directly or not

Materials

- Overhead projector
- Scissors, enough for the entire class
- Tape player
- Paper
- Writing utensils: pens, pencils, markers
- Drawing utensils: crayons, markers
- Resource Cards, included in each activity
- Activity Cards, included in each activity
- Dictionary Definitions 4A, overhead transparency
- Value Cards 4A, one copy per student
- Values Survey 4A, one copy per student
- Tape recording of "Come Sunday, June 4, 1989"
- Name Tags 4E, one copy

Note on Structure

There are five activities presented in this lesson. Activities 4A and 4E are intended for the entire class, while Activities 4B, 4C, and 4D are intended for small groups.

With the small group activities, the teacher is encouraged to consider his/her needs, time, and students' skill level in deciding which approach to take. All of the small group activities may be done at the same time in the same class period; or the entire class, divided into small groups, can engage in the same small group activity at the same time.

© SPICE

Policy Study References

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*. New York: The Asia Society, 1992.

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Economic Issues*. New York: The Asia Society, 1992.

activity 4a

INTERNATIONAL VOICES

Introduction

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This document establishes a set of rights "for everyone in the world, whatever their race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status" (Centre 1989:2). The contributors to this Universal Declaration believed that these international rights should be upheld among all nations in the world, regardless of political, socioeconomic, religious, or linguistic conditions. Because the Declaration reflects this belief in international rights, not everyone agrees with this document or the principles it promotes.

This activity engages students with a critical examination of excerpts from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Through individual exercises and group discussion, students will evaluate the concept of universal rights and values, applying it to their own sense of values and the values in the classroom.

Procedures

1. Show students Transparency 4A, Dictionary Definitions. Inform them that these three definitions are taken from *The American Heritage Dictionary* and are considered standard definitions. These three words are important in this first activity. As you prepare students to begin the activity, ask them to keep these definitions in mind (keep the transparency in their view) and ask students to pay attention to whether they find these definitions complete or accurate enough for this activity.
2. Pass out the resource cards. Depending on the level of students that you are working with, either have the students read the resource cards individually, or go over the main points as a class. As an alternative, you may wish to divide the resource cards among small groups of students if the document is too long or difficult.
3. Emphasize to students that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an international document that often serves as the standard of human rights in many nations. Give all students a copy of Value Cards 4A.
4. Have students cut the cards along the dotted lines. Then, tell students to place the value cards in the order of their importance, either in arrangement on their desks or simply like a deck of cards. While students are engaged in this activity, give each student a copy of Values Survey 4A.

5. Instruct students to record the order of their value cards on the Values Survey, as they continue to order the values cards on their desk, individually. Minimize discussion among students. Give students about 10-15 minutes to do this activity.
6. When all students have finished, select students to collect the Values Surveys and to tally up the responses on the chalkboard. What right do the most number of students feel is the most important? Which rights were the most difficult for all students to agree upon? Ask some students why they chose the rights in the order that they did.
7. You may wish to compose a Declaration of Human Rights for your classroom, using the responses tallied on the chalkboard. This activity will illustrate to students the negotiation process and perhaps the difficulties of reaching a consensus within a group.
8. Conclude this activity by having students look at the original dictionary definitions given at the beginning of this activity and adjust them according to the results of this activity. How easy or difficult is it for the entire class to agree on one definition of a word or phrase?
9. Post copies of the Resource Card, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations, on a chalkboard or bulletin board so that students can refer to the Declaration as they participate in Activities 4B, 4C, 4D, and 4E.
10. Debrief the activity with the following questions:
    - What values does each article in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reflect?
    - What definitions of *universal, right,* and *important* is the Declaration based on?
    - Do you think that universal values exist? Should all countries share the same values? Why or why not?
    - What difficulties can you imagine if everyone in a classroom disagreed on the value of certain issues?
    - Did the dictionary definitions help you in this activity? How much?

RESOURCE CARD

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations (1948)

Freedom and Equality

Article 1: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 3: Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4: No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5: No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Legal Protection

Article 7: All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 11: Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his arrest.

Privacy

Article 12: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Moving and Traveling

Article 13:
1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.
2. Everyone has the right to leave any country including his own, and to return to his country.

Belonging to a Nation

Article 15:
1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Marriage and Family Life

Article 16:
1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family.

© SPICE

They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage should be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Property

Article 17: 1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Religion and Thought

Article 18: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20: 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Political Participation

Article 21: 1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.
3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Employment

Article 23: 1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.
4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24: Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Standard of Living

Article 25:
1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.
2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Education

Article 26: Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available, and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Culture and the Arts

Article 27:
1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

© SPICE

VALUE CARDS

PEACE	EDUCATION
A CAR	CLOTHING
FOOD AND WATER	THINK FREELY
HOUSING/SHELTER	OWN PROPERTY
A JOB	GET MARRIED
HAPPINESS	SPEAK FREELY
BE A CITIZEN OF A COUNTRY	CHOOSE YOUR RELIGION
PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT	SAFETY

DICTIONARY DEFINITIONS

Universal

extending to or affecting the entire world; worldwide

Right

a just or legal claim

Important

significant or noteworthy

© SPICE

VALUES SURVEY

How important is each of the following values to you? Rank them in importance, starting with the number 1 (top priority) to 16 (lowest priority).

The Right To:	Ranks:
peace	
education	
a car	
clothing	
food and water	
housing/shelter	
a job	
happiness	
be a citizen of a country	
think freely	
own property	
get married	
speak freely	
choose your own religion	
participate in government	
safety	

activity 4b

PERSONAL VOICES

Introduction

Students learned in Activity 4A that individuals have different values and therefore perceive human rights differently. Activity 4B, then, asks students to explore how people of different nations develop their view of the world and their personal value systems. One example of how these values develop is through personal interpretations of political or social events that occur in a person's own country.

This activity focuses on one means of expression, poetry, which reveals much about how writers feel about various issues, as well as what specific happenings in their lives have contributed to these impressions. Students will read two poetry selections which express differing viewpoints about events in the writer's country. These poems can be viewed not only as pieces of literary art, but also as political and ideological expressions.

Key Questions

- What do the "common people" of a nation think about human rights?
- How do people from different nations come to hold different values?
- How does expression through poetry differ from other forms of expression—writing a newspaper article? essay? editorial? speech?
- What role does poetry play in shaping people's attitudes about domestic and international political events?
- Do domestic events in one country affect events internationally?

Procedure

1. Pass out one copy of the Resource Card and the Activity Card to each group.
2. Have students read the Resource Card. Students may wish to cut the card in half. The Resource Card provides background information, setting the context for each poem.

   It is not essential that students memorize the facts presented in the Resource Card. The purpose of the card is to help students place the events described in both poems in a historical context.
3. You may wish to ask the students to divide into two even smaller groups, each responsible for reading one poem and one Resource Card. This is a good option if time is especially limited or if reading both poems is too cumbersome for one group of students.

4. Have students read each poem, either aloud, in turn, or silently as a group.
5. Next, have students make a list of adjectives or adjectival phrases that describe the author's attitudes and feelings in the poem. Sample words include: "outraged," "sorrowful," "woeful."
6. Based on this list of adjectives, students should then make a list of values, similar to the ones discussed in Activity 4A, that they feel the writer holds. Encourage students to add other values to the list, in addition to the values already discussed in Activity 4A.
7. Finally, have students write their own poem expressing dissent about a certain social condition about which they feel very strongly. Examples can range from large issues, like racism or poverty, to smaller issues, like school elections or cafeteria food.
8. Debrief the activity with the following questions:
    - How are these poems different or similar to each other?
    - Do you think that the Chinese writer has the same values as the U.S. writer? Why or why not? Do you think they should?
    - How did political events in the writer's country affect his/her perspective on human rights?
    - Why do you think these writers chose to express themselves through poetry?
    - What are the advantages and disadvantages of expressing yourself through poetry?

RESOURCE CARD (1)

Poem:

"I Have A Dream"

Origins:

Appeared on a poster and handbill in Nanjing, China, on May 21, 1989, written by Jie Fu. Exact origins unknown. Likely inspired by Martin Luther King, Jr.'s speech, also entitled "I Have A Dream."

What You Need to Know:

June 4, 1989 represented a culmination of student dissatisfaction with the Chinese government. This student movement had been building since the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Youth in China demanded specific changes in government: an end to government corruption, and sharp inflation, more freedom of the press, and freedom of assembly (Han 1992:1). Overall, the protesting students wanted the Chinese government to recognize their popular movement, a movement including Chinese from all walks of life, as a legal entity and a legitimate form of expressing dissent. The Chinese government, experiencing internal divisions itself, felt threatened by the student movement and feared that anything but a repression of anti-government voices would result in national instability and potentially chaos.

✂

RESOURCE CARD (2)

Poem:

"The Banner"

Origins:

Written by K.L. Hill, from San Francisco. Published in *The Verdict Is In*, an anthology of poetry and prose. Describes and reacts to the Rodney King trial verdict in April 1992.

What You Need to Know:

On March 3, 1991, Rodney King, an African-American man, was pulled over by ten police cars for allegedly speeding on a highway outside Los Angeles. A home video account by an onlooker showed that King then got out of the car and laid face down on the pavement, while four Caucasian police officers beat and kicked him before arresting him. When the home video was given to a Los Angeles television station, it was played repeatedly throughout the United States, inciting public anger about police brutality. The charges against King were dropped, and the four officers who beat King were charged with using excessive force.

On April 29, 1992, a jury acquitted three of the officers and declared a mistrial for the fourth. Large numbers of people in Los Angeles protested the jury's decision by rioting, burning and looting local stores. "By the time calm returned to L.A., 6,300 people had been arrested, 4,591 fires had burned, 44 people were dead, and 2,100 had

© SPICE

been injured" (Georges 1992:3). Rioting in Los Angeles was mirrored by demonstrations in cities all over the United States by protesters who felt that the verdict in this case resulted from blatant racism and a lack of justice, especially a lack of regard for human rights.

ACTIVITY CARD

In this activity, you will read two poems. One poem, "I Have A Dream," was written in Nanjing, China, in 1989, and expresses the writer's ideas about government and expression in China. The second poem, "The Banner," also expresses ideas about government and expression, but in the United States.

> Read the Resource Card that your teacher will give to your group. Then, read either the poem assigned to you or both poems, "I Have A Dream" and "The Banner."
>
> History clues are provided below for the poem, "I Have A Dream."

History Clues for "I Have A Dream":

- In ancient China, the phoenix was the emblem of the empress.
- Until 1905, positions in government were attained on the basis of merit.
- China had long been ruled by emperors; the period of each emperor's rule was called a *dynasty*. An emperor held his power only as long as he could maintain control over his dynasty. Chaos and instability often resulted from dynastic changes.
- *Tiananmen* literally translates as "Gate of Heavenly Peace," the gate to the former imperial palace complex in Beijing where the emperor sat in the throne hall. Throughout modern history, Tiananmen Square has been the site of student protests and demonstrations.
- *Nirvana*, a Buddhist term, refers to the ultimate life goal of complete serenity, free from pain and desires, when one unites with harmony.

© SPICE

Group Task

- Make a list of adjectives that describe the writers' attitudes and feelings. Do these adjectives refer to human rights? If yes, how? Do the writers provide two different or similar perspectives on human rights? Do you have similar experiences to those of the writer?
- Make a list of the values that your group thinks the writers hold. Examples of values might be education, shelter, or religion. Use the values on the Values Survey in Activity 4A, or make up some more of your own.
- Write a poem that reflects your disagreement with a specific social condition. You may choose any social situation that you feel needs to be changed or improved. For example, you may choose to address the way student body presidents are elected in your school, the cost of food in the cafeteria, or even the maintenance of the school campus. Or you may choose to address a larger social issue, like racism or poverty.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I Have A Dream

I have a dream.
I dream that the flowers of democracy
Will one day bloom everywhere.
I have a dream.
I dream that the banners of freedom
Have eclipsed the swords of the dictators.

O, our 5,000 years of history
Filled with 5,000 years of yearning.
Now at the end of the twentieth century
We finally have the right to dream.

I have a dream.
I dream that the vastness of the heavens
Becomes the windows of our prison.
I have a dream.
I dream that our sacred peaks and mountains
Turn into walls against our despots.

So let the song of this sorrowful and woeful people be tears.
So let us stand firm at the final front and fight again.
Our heads will be bullets
And our bodies, the guns of justice.

I have a dream.
I dream of blazing, raging flames.
I have a dream.
I dream of weeds growing wildly.
As the weeds survive in the raging flames,
We can then see,
See a phoenix of Nirvana.

As these phoenixes fly by
We will cry out.
This is China's eternal dream.

I have a dream.
Deceit is buried beneath the sea.

Despotism is banished to a distant land.
There are no longer struggles for power;
No more violent fantasies;
No more sons of the Republic prostrate on the ground;
No more sham public servants haughtily above;
No more of the looting from a century of chaos;
No more of the vicissitudes of dynastic change.

The people will be able to be their own masters
They will be able to speak.
They will be able to stand without hindrance on
Tiananmen Square.

I have a dream.
For this dream I'm willing for my blood to be shed.
For this dream
Let me endure hunger and exhaustion;
Let my heart be filled with anger and despair;
Let the guns of evil with murderous intent
Be aimed at my bare breast,
For behind me, never failing,
Are generations of China's sons and grandsons,
A dream of democracy and freedom
As beautiful and moving as fresh blood.

So for our sorrowful and woeful people
Let tears be our song.

Let us stand firm at the final front and fight again.
Our heads will be bullets
And our bodies, the guns of justice.

—Jie Fu, May 21, 1989

© SPICE

The Banner

It was all on TV,
But first I heard about it on the radio.
I was half-listening to the ball game,
Half-working at something;
I don't remember what.
About four p.m. the game was interrupted
By an announcement:
The jury had reached a verdict
In the "Rodney King/LAPD Beating Trial;"
Not guilty on all charges but one,
And to stay tuned for a full report
Immediately following the game.

I left the game early,
Like they do in LA,
Forgot the score and who was ahead,
Forgot about whatever it was I was doing,
And turned on the TV,
Clicking through the channels
For a news report.
What I heard on the radio:
It had to be wrong!

I had seen the whole thing on TV last year,
Like everybody else,
Over and over, a hundred times;
More than a hundred,
Just like people all over the world,
Who saw it all on TV
Right after it happened,
Just like I did,
Outraged at all those LAPD Cops:
They just kept beating that guy
Over and over,
And the only reason
They even had a trial
Was because it got on TV
For everyone to see;
The kind of thing
People have to live with
Every day in LA,

Seeing it on TV brought it home
Almost every day,
For more than a whole year.
I saw it;
Everybody saw it.
And the jury saw it too.
But the jury said it was ok.
They said it was ok for the cops
To keep on beating him

Until he no longer had the strength,
Or the will,
To put his arms around his head,
To protect his face
Against endless blows.
The jury said that was not using
Excessive force.
They were only doing their job.

At ten minutes to five,
About a hundred people
Came down Webster Street
And turned on Hayes,
Heading for the Civic Center
To join some others from the Mission.
It was on TV all night,
And all the next day,
And all weekend.
I didn't go out into the streets.
It was like I had already been there;
Like I had seen it all before;
Like I knew what was coming next,
and I knew it wasn't just the jury's verdict
That brought people out.
There was a banner made from a white bed sheet
With black spray-paint on it that said,
    NO JOBS!
    NO JUSTICE!
    NO RESPECT!
It was all over the TV,
And it was all over the streets,
And it's not all over, yet.

—By K.L. Hill

ASIAN-AMERICAN VOICES

Introduction

This activity encourages students to question the assumption that all people of one nation will hold the same opinion or view of a social or political event. Within any nation there exists a wide range of views on any number of topics. For example, not all Americans agree on how to govern public schools in the United States, just as nearly every American has his or her own opinion on issues such as abortion, health care, and social welfare. Likewise, there are people in Canada, for example, who may take the same position on health care as an American. Therefore, we must be careful not to oversimplify issues by assuming that all citizens of one nation hold the same opinion.

This activity intends to illustrate this point by having students listen to a recording entitled "Come Sunday, June 4, 1989," which is taken from a CD entitled "Tiananmen!," recorded by Chinese-American jazz artist Jon Jang and the Pan Asian Arkestra. Though not representative of all Chinese Americans, Jon Jang uses his unique position in the American music scene to paint one picture of a reaction to the events in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989. As Larry Kelp writes in the introduction to "Tiananmen!," "Jang's music makes the most of a world filled with people's struggles, from the national to the personal." In another sense as well, Jang's voice as a Chinese American contributes a valuable perspective to the international discussion of human rights.

Key Questions

- How does Jon Jang feel about the events that occurred in China in 1989?
- How do opinions on political issues vary among the population of one country?
- How could two people from one country have different views about a political or social event? What factors influence this variation?
- How can artists use music to express political or social ideas?
- Is music particular to one country, or can it play a role in many societies?

Procedure

1. Distribute the Activity Card to each group.
2. Have students listen to a recording from a CD entitled "Tiananmen!," which is one jazz artist's expressive reaction to the Tiananmen events of June 4, 1989.
3. While listening to the recording, students should record their responses, in a brainstorm format—jotting down words and

feelings, writing a poem, drawing a picture—as they listen to the music.

4. Have students read the Resource Cards, which use information taken from a personal interview with Jon Jang and let students know what Jang hopes to achieve through his music. Students can compare their personal responses to the music with Jang's intentions and processes of thought as he composed the piece.
5. If time permits, it would be helpful for students to listen to the piece a second time after reading the Resource Cards.
6. Debrief the activity with the following questions:
   - How does Jon Jang view the event in Tiananmen Square that occurred on June 4, 1989? What words can you use to describe his reaction?
   - Do you think that because Jang is an Asian American, he has a different view from an Anglo American or an African American?
   - How does music help Jang express himself?

RESOURCE CARD (1 OF 2)

What were Jon Jang's intentions in composing the movement "Come Sunday, June 4, 1989"?

This movement tells a story, Jang's personal perspective on the pro-democracy movement in the People's Republic of China. Jang was influenced by the book *Almost a Revolution*, by Shen Tong, a Chinese student activist. The book tells of Shen Tong's childhood in China and how the U.S.-China relationship influenced daily life in China during the 1960s-1970s.

What is "Come Sunday, June 4, 1989" trying to express? How does it express that message musically?

Most of Jang's musical works have been inspired by sorrow songs and blues, songs of the oppressed who fight for equality and justice. In "Come Sunday, June 4, 1989," he tries to incorporate a Chinese sorrow song within a framework of jazz, African-American music, and European classical music.

- The two minutes of drums at the beginning of the movement represent the military outside of Tiananmen Square. The drums also create a sense of distance and transition later in the movement. Drums play an important role also in Beijing opera and jazz, notes Jang.
- The single instruments in this first section (the piano and the zheng, the Chinese zither) play the major theme, a Chinese sorrow song called Mengjiang nu. This section represents the "wait and see" attitude of the Chinese government.
- The next section features a flute and sheng (mouth organ) playing a duo. The flute plays a piece called "Come Sunday" by Duke Ellington, the famous jazz artist; the sheng plays a theme called "The Red in My Blood Is the Color of the Flag," a popular song sung by the pro-democracy students in Tiananmen Square. Jang purposely brings these two very different musical themes together to create a universal sense of reverence and a sense of working together. Here Jang illustrates the universal importance of the incident at Tiananmen, which reflected many concerns—political, generational differences, and the need for dialogue and interaction between groups of people.
- The following section is marked by the suona (double-reed instrument), which continues the theme, "The Red in My Blood Is the Color of the Flag." This section represents the voices or melodies of struggle. "The Red in My Blood Is the Color of the Flag" represents the students' desires to redefine China, a new kind of patriotism. This section also includes some traditional Chinese musical rhythms and patterns.
- The solo sections, with the suona and the tenor saxophone, symbolize Jang's Chinese-American perspective, by integrating a traditional Chinese instrument and an American instrument. Jang sees Chinese music as a source and American jazz as a bridge for expression. The dramatic tension in this section represents the cacophony of the crackdown in Tiananmen Square by the military.
- The final section is a ballad section from an earlier movement, "Great Wall/Gold Mountain." Here, Jang wanted to capture the feeling of the day after June 4, 1989.

© SPICE

RESOURCE CARD (2 OF 2)

Why did Jon Jang compose "Tiananmen!"?

After Jang's jazz ensemble performed a Chinese folk song at a benefit concert on June 4, 1989, the audience, mostly overseas Chinese, gave him a standing ovation and exclaimed, "Jazz, jazz...very democratic!" Jang writes, "I felt the thunder in my heart and now understand the power of the Chinese folk song in the context of jazz. Because of this experience I was inspired to compose 'Tiananmen!'"

How does Jon Jang see his role in music as a Chinese American?

Jang feels that part of his responsibility is to honor and build upon the contributions that Chinese Americans have made to the United States. Through his music, Jang tries to bridge the gaps among minority groups in the United States—especially Native Americans, African Americans, Chinese Americans, and European Americans. It is important for Jang to "know where you came from and know where you're going."

How does Jon Jang want students to view his music or music in general?

Music is a language, an offering. For Jang, expression always comes first and musical theory acts only as a guide. When asked how he gets inspired to write certain compositions, Jang replied, "the music came *through* me." Music is very instinctive and even overwhelming for Jang.

For students, the process of listening and interpreting is more important than anything else. Jang encourages "democratic responses"—student responses should not be the same and should be creative and unhesitant in exploring new ways of expression.

ACTIVITY CARD

How important is music to you? What does music mean to you?

In this activity your group will listen to a recording by Jon Jang, a San Francisco Bay Area jazz artist. The recording is entitled "Come Sunday, June 4, 1989" and musically illustrates the artist's views on the events which occurred on that date in Beijing, at Tiananmen Square.

Group Task

As your group listens to the recording, think about the following questions:

- What images does the music provoke?
- Why do you think the artist uses these sounds and instruments to express himself?
- What do you think the music's message is?
- How would you express the same kind of view/feeling?
- How would you describe this piece of music to a friend, without letting that friend listen to the recording?

Write down any impressions or feelings that you think of as you listen to the music. Then compare your reactions to the music with the intentions of Jon Jang, the artist who composed this piece of music. How do your interpretations differ from the artist's intentions?

© SPICE

VOICES FROM THE MEDIA

Introduction

How does the media portray the U.S.-China relationship in terms of human rights? Although the United States often criticizes China for its human rights record, China has very definite opinions about human rights conditions in the United States as well. Problems such as homelessness, homicide, and poverty rank among the top problems that some Chinese critics say illustrate the United States' poor human rights record. And prominent events like the Los Angeles riots in 1992—reactions to the Rodney King/Los Angeles Police Department trial verdict—also illustrate to other nations the fact that the United States—a vocal critic of international human rights abuses—is not immune to domestic human and civil rights abuses as well.

The media has often been the transmitter of information flowing between the United States and the People's Republic of China, influencing public perception about human rights domestically and internationally. This activity allows students to examine a political cartoon that illustrates the hypocrisy which China finds with the United States' position on human rights. This cartoon appeared in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in 1992.

Key Question

- How does the media portray the U.S.–China relationship in terms of human rights?

Procedure

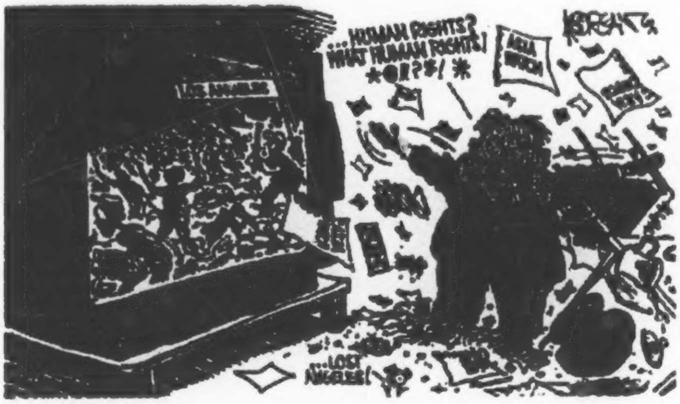
1. You may wish to ask students to bring in an example of a favorite cartoon in preparation for this activity. Discuss the following questions:
   - Why do students like (or dislike) this particular cartoon?
   - What kind of attitude does the cartoonist hold?
   - What images does the cartoonist use to communicate humor or a particular message?
2. Distribute one copy of the Resource Card to each group. Students will analyze the cartoon provided on the Resource Card. Students should look for images, words, and phrases in the cartoon that contribute to the artist's message. Students may wish to make a list of these images and words.
3. Then, as a group, students should draw their own political cartoon on the Activity Card.

RESOURCE CARD

Do you enjoy reading cartoons in the daily newspaper?

Cartoons are a form of art and expression just like music and poetry. Yet they express an idea visually (and sometimes with words) rather than through only words and/or music. Political cartoons can also express or convey political and social ideas or messages.

The following political cartoon appeared in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in 1992. Look at the cartoon closely, observe the details, and identify as many objects and words as possible. Make a list of images, words, or phrases that help the author express his point of view. Write a caption for this cartoon, if you wish.


LOS ANGELES
...HUMAN RIGHTS?
WHAT HUMAN RIGHTS!
*@!?$/ *
ASIA WATCH
...LOST ANGELES!

Caption: ______________________________

- What event is being depicted on the television?
- What is Deng Xiaoping* reacting to in this cartoon?
- Why is he reacting the way he is?
- How would such a cartoon affect how Americans view China?
- How does this cartoon reflect attitudes about relations between China and the United States?

---

* Deng Xiaoping is known as the paramount leader of the People's Republic of China.

© SPICE

ACTIVITY CARD

Caption: ______________________________

Group Task

Draw your own political cartoon in response to the one shown on the Resource Card. You may want to include a caption as well.

GOVERNMENTAL VOICES

Introduction

One primary influence affecting the direction of international relations is the stance that each government takes. These "official" positions often reflect a number of factors, including domestic political climate, national interests, and foreign relations. At the same time, these government positions influence these areas as well. While the specific origins of government policy are not so easily defined, understanding the causes and results of government policies is important to more fully understanding the dynamics of international relations.

In this activity, students will analyze governmental voices addressing the human rights debate between the People's Republic of China and the United States. Because much debate has flown back and forth between these two nations on the issue of human rights, it is important for students to understand the main points upon which the United States and the People's Republic of China disagree. Following are two statements that reflect the governmental positions of the United States and the People's Republic of China. These are the stances that each nation has thus far maintained throughout the discussion on human rights and foreign relations. Students will extract the main points from these two documents by staging a talk show that focuses on an upcoming meeting between representatives of the United States and of the People's Republic of China.

Key Questions

- How much influence do government positions have on international events?
- How do two governments with differing views relate to one another? How do they compromise?
- What factors are involved in international negotiations?
- What do the United States and the People's Republic of China disagree about?

Procedure

1. Designate one or two students to be the talk show host(s). Divide the remaining students into two groups, Group A and Group B. Give one copy of Activity Card #1 to each group and to each talk show host. Cut Activity Card #2 into its two halves, and give each group its corresponding half. Give Activity Card #3 to the talk show host(s).
2. Have students read their respective Resource Card documents and make a list of the main points stated in the document.

3. Have students stage a talk show that focuses on an upcoming meeting between the United States and the People's Republic of China. The talk show host(s) should address the issue of human rights in the show, especially how the United States and the People's Republic of China disagree on human rights, as well as how they could compromise in the future.

RESOURCE CARD A (UNITED STATES)

Excerpts from Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1994
—A Report Submitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, and the Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives by the Department of State

Preface

The reports in this volume will be used as a resource for shaping policy, conducting diplomacy, and making assistance, training, and other resource allocations. They will also serve as a basis for the U.S. Government's cooperation with private groups to promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights.

The Country Reports on Human Rights cover internationally recognized individual civil, political, and worker rights, as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These rights include freedom from torture or other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment; from prolonged detention without charges; from disappearance due to abduction or clandestine detention and from other flagrant violations of the right to life, liberty, and the security of the person.

Universal human rights aim to incorporate respect for human dignity into the processes of government and law. All people have the inalienable right to change their government by peaceful means and to enjoy basic freedoms, such as freedom of expression, association, assembly, movement, and religion, without discrimination on the basis of race, religion, national origin, or sex. The right to join a free trade union is a necessary condition of a free society and economy. Thus the reports assess key internationally recognized worker rights, including the right of association; the right to organize and bargain collectively; prohibition of forced or compulsory labor; minimum age for employment of children; and acceptable work conditions.

Report on China

In 1994 there continued to be widespread and well-documented human rights abuses in China, in violation of internationally accepted norms, stemming both from the authorities' intolerance of dissent and the inadequacy of legal safeguards for freedom of speech, association, and religion. Abuses include arbitrary and lengthy incommunicado detention, torture, and mistreatment of prisoners. Despite a reduction during the year in the number of political detainees from the immediate post-Tiananmen period, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of other prisoners of conscience remain imprisoned or detained. The Government still has not provided a comprehensive, credible public accounting of all those missing or detained in connection with the suppression of the 1989 demonstrations. Chinese leaders moved swiftly to cut off organized expressions of protest or criticism and detained government critics, including those advocating greater worker rights. Citizens have no ability peacefully to change their government leaders or the form of government. Criminal defendants are denied basic legal safeguards such as due process or adequate defense. The regime continued severe restrictions on the freedoms of speech, press, assembly and association, and tightened controls on the exercise of these rights during 1994. Serious human rights abuses persisted in Tibet and other areas populated by ethnic minorities.

RESOURCE CARD B (PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA)

Excerpts from A Report Which Distorts Facts and Confuses Right and Wrong

—On the Part about China in the 1994 "Human Rights Report"
Issued by the U.S. State Department

—By the Information Office of the State Council, People's Republic of China

The so-called human rights issue has all along been used by the U.S. government as a pretext for interfering in China's internal affairs and launching unwarranted attacks on China. The part about China in the 1994 Human Rights Report (hereafter referred to as the Report) issued by the U.S. State Department on February 1, 1995, again used the means of distorting facts and confusing right and wrong and rigged up materials to attack China, in an attempt to mislead the world public and damage China's prestige.

Distorting Facts to Deceive World Public Opinion

The report, while full of empty slanderous words, listed a number of so-called "cases" to attack China. These "cases" cannot stand close to scrutiny. They are either based on rumors or deliberately fabricated, with none true to the facts.

Human Rights in Name, Hegemonism in Reality

At present, the United States is the only country which publishes a report every year to pass judgments based on the concepts of value and human rights of its own upon human rights conditions in each of the more than 190 other countries and regions in the world. The U.S. State Department has never justified itself for this: what countries or what world meetings have ever granted the United States the "Global Judge of Human Rights" status and empowered it to place itself above all other countries of the world?

As is known to all, the principles of sovereignty, equality, and non-interference in other countries' internal affairs are the basic norms for international law and country-to-country relations. They are also the very bedrock on which the United Nations has maintained its existence to this day.

Human rights are in essence matters within the jurisdiction of each country, and all countries should exert themselves to safeguard and promote human rights in their own territories instead of finding faults with others in the issue.

If the U.S. government is sincere about human rights, it should do its utmost to improve the abominable human rights conditions in its own country, rather than covering them up by attacking others on the issue.

It is quite normal that the specific measures of different countries to safeguard human rights, their understanding of, and views about human rights are different due to their different historical backgrounds, social systems, cultural traditions and economic development levels. With regard to the different understanding and views of different countries, it is not difficult to settle differences, including those on human rights, so long as dialogues are conducted on the basis of full equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. If confrontation is exerted, and the human rights issue used for political motives or as a pretext for changing the economic, political, and social systems of other countries, such practice of hegemonism and power politics will only bring about disasters to the cause of human rights in the world.

ACTIVITY CARD 1:
GROUP A, GROUP B, AND TALK SHOW HOST(S)

Group Scenario and Group Task

Your group includes representatives of the United States and the People's Republic of China. These representatives will be meeting next month to discuss their positions on human rights. The basis of this meeting will be the two documents provided in this activity. Representatives of both countries wish to clarify their positions on human rights, as outlined in these two documents.

First, your two groups, Group A and Group B, will meet separately to read the documents given to you and summarize the main points in each document. The talk show host(s) should read the questions on Activity Card (3) and be prepared to think of more questions to ask the representatives of both countries.

After each group makes a list of their main points, stage a talk show, where the talk show host interviews the representatives of both nations. The focus of the talk show is this upcoming meeting, to be held next month. Your task is to make clear upon what points the United States and the People's Republic of China disagree. Then you should negotiate the different ways that both nations could compromise.

ACTIVITY CARD 2

GROUP A

You represent the United States. As a group, assign roles to each person: President, Ambassador to the People's Republic of China, and Secretary of State. Make sure each person has a name tag. If there are more than three people in the group, make more name tags (for example, Consulate Officer).

Read the U.S. Resource Card, either as a group or individually. You may want to divide reading the documents, having students each reading a different paragraph.

List the main points of your document on a separate sheet of paper. Consider these questions:

- What is the main content of the Country Reports 1994?
- Who wrote the Country Reports 1994?
- Why are these reports written? What is their purpose?
- How are these reports used?
- What is the tone of the Country Reports 1994?

✂

GROUP B

You represent the People's Republic of China. As a group, assign roles to each person: President, Ambassador to the United States, and Foreign Minister. Make sure each person has a name tag. If there are more than three people in the group, make more name tags (for example, Prime Minister).

Read the P.R.C. resource card, either as a group or individually, and either silently or aloud. You may want to divide reading the document, having one student read a paragraph.

List the main points of your document on a separate sheet of paper. Consider these questions:

- How does China feel about the Country Reports 1994?
- How does China disagree with the United States about human rights?
- What does China think the United States should do about human rights?

ACTIVITY CARD 3

TALK SHOW HOST(S)

You are in charge of monitoring and mediating the talk show in which the representatives of the United States and the People's Republic of China will participate. This show should focus on the upcoming meeting among representatives of these nations, especially the points on which the United States and the People's Republic of China disagree on human rights, and the different ways in which they can compromise to reach an agreement.

Ask the representatives of each nation the following questions. Supplement these with questions of your own that address the issue of human rights:

- What issues are priorities for the upcoming meeting?
- How do you plan to address each of these issues?
- What does your nation hope to achieve in this meeting?
- Why does your nation maintain its position on human rights?
- How do you view human rights in other nations?
- On what aspects of human rights is your nation willing to compromise?
- On what aspects of human rights is your nation *not* willing to compromise?
- How do you predict that this meeting will go?

NAME TAGS

Talk Show Host	Talk Show Host
President of the United States	President of the People's Republic of China
People's Republic of China Foreign Minister	United States Secretary of State
United States Ambassador to the People's Republic of China	*People's Republic of China Ambassador to the United States*

closing activity 4e

NAME TAGS

✂

Lesson 5

SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS:

WITH A FOCUS ON SECURITY ISSUES IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

Organizing Questions

- What are some major security issues affecting Sino–Japanese relations?
- How is the territorial dispute in the South China Sea illustrative of the interdependence of Asia?

Introduction

In lesson 5, issues affecting Sino–Japanese relations will be examined, with particular attention to security issues in the South China Sea. Students in small groups, representing the countries of China, Japan, the United States, Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan, Vietnam, and the Philippines, will participate in a simulated summit, "Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea."

Objectives

knowledge

- to learn about security issues affecting Sino–Japanese relations
- to learn about various countries' perspectives on security issues in the South China Sea

attitude

- to appreciate the complexity of issues surrounding China's territorial claims in the South China Sea

skill

- to develop criteria for making an informed opinion
- to critically analyze information and summarize important points for discussion
- to experience a simulated summit, in which groups of students representing various countries present their perspectives on issues related to the South China Sea

Materials

- Handout #1: Japan's Policy Toward China, nine copies
- Handout #2: The Disputed Territories in the South China Sea, nine copies

- Handout #3: Recording Sheet for Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea Summit, nine copies
- Group Information Sheet: #1: The South China Sea, China's View, one copy
- Group Information Sheet: #2: The South China Sea, The United States' View, one copy
- Group Information Sheet: #3: The South China Sea, Japan's View, one copy
- Group Information Sheet: #4: The South China Sea, Indonesia's View, one copy
- Group Information Sheet: #5: The South China Sea, Brunei's View, one copy
- Group Information Sheet: #6: The South China Sea, Malaysia's View, one copy
- Group Information Sheet: #7: The South China Sea, Philippines' View, one copy
- Group Information Sheet: #8: The South China Sea, Taiwan's View, one copy
- Group Information Sheet: #9: The South China Sea, Vietnam's View, one copy

Procedure

1. Explain to the students that they will be engaging in an activity that examines Sino–Japanese relations, with a focus on security issues in the South China Sea. A general overview of these issues will be discussed first, followed by the main activity of the lesson, which involves negotiations among many countries about the territorial claims of the South China Sea.
2. Divide the class into nine groups of 3-4 students each. Distribute one copy of Handout #1, Japan's Policy Toward China; one copy of Handout #2, The Disputed Territories of the South China Sea; and one copy of one of the Group Information Sheets, #1–9, to each group.
3. To set the context for this lesson, have students read through Handout #1, Japan's Policy Toward China, as a small group. Discuss the following issues with the class:
   - How does Japan hope to ensure that China remain committed to the maintenance of stability in the Asia/Pacific region?
   - Japan is one of China's major trading partners and a principal aid donor. Describe Japan's dilemma with regard to efforts to urge China toward greater economic reform and political liberalization.
   - Describe Japan's "hope concerning China's current direction."

4. Following this discussion, point out that the territorial disputes in the South China Sea are a source of concern not only for Japan, but for many other countries as well. Each of the main countries involved in the disputes will be represented by a small group of students. These countries are: China, Japan, United States, Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam, Brunei, Indonesia, and Taiwan. Each group's Group Information Sheet contains background information, key statements made by the country's leaders, and problem(s) related to the South China Sea.
5. Allow 30-40 minutes for students to work on the tasks presented on the Group Information Sheets. As part of its preparation for the summit, each of the groups will need to interact with at least one other group in the class. Have each group select a diplomat who will represent its country's views on the territorial dispute as well as articulate the problem(s) facing the country related to the dispute. The diplomats will convene at an international summit, "Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea," in Brunei on a following class. The goal of the summit is for each country to develop its policy related to the territorial dispute.

The Summit

Day 1

1. A facilitator from Brunei should welcome the various diplomats to the international summit in Brunei. The facilitator should also distribute one copy of Handout #3, Recording Sheet for Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea Summit, to a recorder in each of the small groups. The recorder's job is to take notes on the perspectives given by each of the country's diplomats.
2. The facilitator should introduce the diplomat from China to present his/her 5-minute opening statement.
3. Next, the facilitator should introduce the diplomats from the United States and Japan to present their 5-minute opening statements. These are the two countries with no claims in the South China Sea. However, they both have key interests in the area.
4. This should be followed by 5-minute opening statements by countries with claims in the South China Sea: Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Taiwan, and the Philippines.
5. Following these opening statements, the facilitator should allow each diplomat an opportunity to comment on any aspect of the opening statements. If comments are made directly to another country, the facilitator should allow responses from

any particular country. Allow 15–20 minutes for this discussion.

The Summit

Day 2

1. Following the discussions from day 1, each country should write its desired policy with regard to security issues in the South China Sea. During the conceptualization and writing of its policy, the diplomat from each country may assign people to meet with members of other countries. Allow 20–30 minutes for this policy writing.
2. The facilitator should introduce each diplomat once again to present its policy.
3. Debrief the summit by discussing the following:
   - How are security issues affecting Sino–Japanese relations? Sino–U.S. relations?
   - How is the complexity of issues surrounding China's territorial claims in the South China Sea illustrative of the interdependence of the region?

Policy Study References

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China, *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Security Issues*. New York: The Asia Society, 1993.

Gaston Sigur Center at George Washington University, unpublished papers presented at a workshop, Tokyo, April 17–18, 1994.

© SPICE

handout #1

JAPAN'S POLICY TOWARD CHINA[1]

Japan's policy toward China complements U.S. policies in many ways. Japan believes that constructive engagement and efforts to incorporate China into an interlocking web of multilateral political and economic institutions represent the best way to ensure that China remains committed to the maintenance of stability in the Asia/Pacific region. By helping China develop its economy, Japanese policymakers hope to contribute to the gradual transformation of China. Economic aid provides critical leverage with which Japan can urge China toward greater economic reform and political liberalization. Japan has endorsed China's recent steps toward renewed marketization.

Historical factors, along with trade and investment tensions, have kept Japan from playing a more assertive role in China in the past. More recently, Japan has indicated that it may link continued governmental aid to China to a Chinese commitment not to expand its naval forces significantly, but generally Japan does not consider sanctions or overt pressure effective as a means of influence. The Chinese Communist Party leadership, particularly pro-reform moderates, recognizes that an arms race in the region would be counterproductive and does not want to invest China's limited capital resources in arms. Many Japanese and U.S. policymakers feel strongly that positive reinforcement, not negative sanctions, is the most effective means by which to dissuade China from a major arms buildup. Moreover, Japan's economic leverage would be most effective if it were linked to U.S. policies that rewarded China for positive steps to contain military expansion.

Many Japanese policymakers have expressed hope concerning China's current direction. Economic reform is firmly in place, and the 14th Chinese Communist Party Congress embraced further reform and elected a new, more moderate leadership. Chinese officials have assured their Japanese counterparts that while China plans to modernize its defense forces, it does not plan to expand its naval or force-projection capabilities significantly. Japanese have been encouraged by China's decision to normalize relations with South Korea, its efforts to stabilize and moderate issues related to North Korea, and its role in ending the Cambodian conflict, though concern was expressed about China's stance in the Spratly Islands dispute. Signs that China would ultimately accept a negotiated compromise, however, have led many to conclude that recent moves are simply designed to assure that China has a strong hand when negotiations begin.

Some U.S. and Japanese policymakers have cautioned that Japan should not assume that maintaining good relations with Beijing is sufficient to ensure that China plays a positive role in the region. However, others have felt that Japan's long-term approach of building multilateral interdependence may represent the best way of ensuring not only that China moves toward the status quo, but also that Russia becomes a stabilizing force.

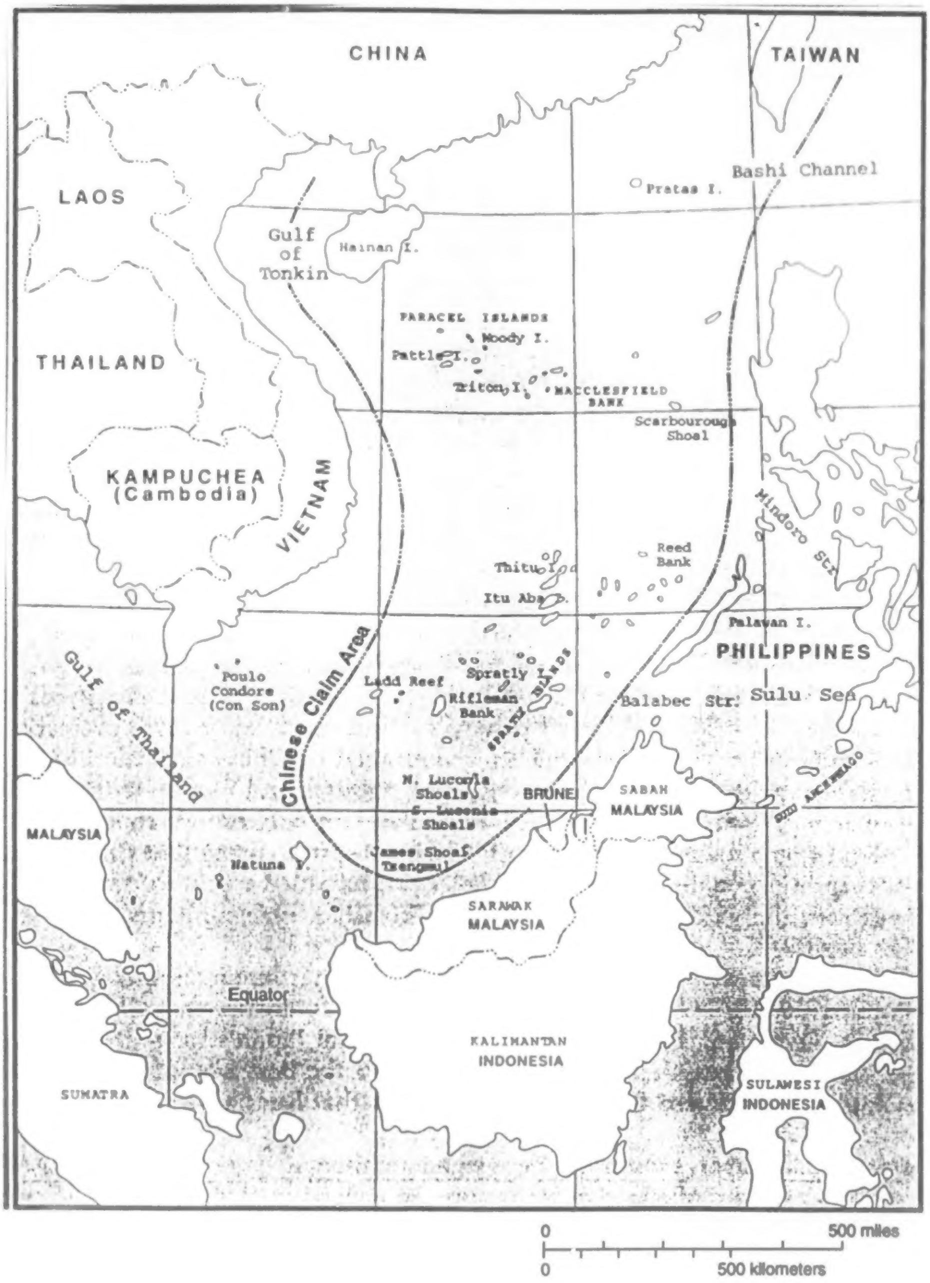
Multilateralism, however, should not be seen as a panacea. Japan and the United States face considerable challenges in attempting to construct institutional mechanisms to ensure stability in Asia. Furthermore, institutionalization is a long-term solution to regional problems. Japan and the United States will also need short-term policies. Multilateralism must be complemented by respective bilateral policies designed to keep China pointed in a positive direction.

---

[1] U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China, *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Security Issues*, (New York: The Asia Society, 1993, pp. 33–34.)

handout #2

THE DISPUTED TERRITORIES IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA


CHINA
TAIWAN
Bashi Channel
Pratas I.
LAOS
Gulf of Tonkin
Hainan I.
PARACEL ISLANDS
Woody I.
Pattle I.
Triton I.
MACCLESFIELD BANK
Scarbourough Shoal
THAILAND
KAMPUCHEA (Cambodia)
VIETNAM
Mindoro Str.
Reed Bank
Thitu I.
Itu Aba I.
Palawan I.
PHILIPPINES
Gulf of Thailand
Poulo Condore (Con Son)
Chinese Claim Area
Ladd Reef
Spratly I.
SPRATLY ISLANDS
Rifleman Bank
Balabec Str.
Sulu Sea
SULU ARCHIPELAGO
N. Luconia Shoals
S. Luconia Shoals
BRUNEI
SABAH MALAYSIA
MALAYSIA
Natuna I.
James Shoal Tsengmu
SARAWAK MALAYSIA
Equator
KALIMANTAN INDONESIA
SUMATRA
SULAWESI INDONESIA
0
500 miles
0
500 kilometers

Location

The South China Sea, which stretches from the southwest to the northeast or from around the equator between Sumatra and Kalimantan to the Taiwan Straits, covers about four million square kilometers of water.

There are four main islands groups, claimed by China, in the South China Sea. The largest island, Pratas Island, is only about 6 kilometers long and 2 kilometers wide. The Paracel Islands constitute an archipelagic complex of some 15 islets and about 12 reefs and shoals, of which the most important island, Woody Island, is only about 2 kilometers long and 1 kilometer wide. The Spratly Islands are a widely scattered collection of shoals, reefs, and tiny islets stretching more than 1,000 kilometers from southeast to northwest. They are far closer to Southeast Asia than to the Chinese mainland or Hainan Island, the only uncontested piece of Chinese territory in the South China Sea. The Macclesfield Bank, one of the principle groups claimed by China, is actually a permanently submerged atoll.

Sovereignty of the Sea

Ironically, the reasons these scattered islands are worth fighting for are embodied in the 1982 U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea. Under this international law, territorial sovereignty confers an exclusive right to economic activity within a zone extending 200 miles to seaward of territorial coastline.

In the case of an archipelago such as the Spratly Islands, this 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) extends outwards from a baseline linking the outermost islands. Thus, sovereignty of the Spratly Islands would bring with it the right to exclusive economic development over much of the South China Sea.

While Malaysia, Brunei, Taiwan, and the Philippines claim only parts of this island group closest to their own shores, China and Vietnam claim the entire archipelago, principally on historical grounds.

Vietnam has occupied 22 atolls and reefs in the Spratly Islands, the Philippines 8, Malaysia 4, and Taiwan 1. Many of these outposts are occupied by troops and some are close to each other, adding to the potential for conflict.

It is China's claim that the Spratly Islands and much of the rest of the South China Sea are part of its territorial waters that causes most concern to Japan and other Asian nations.

Over 70 percent of Japan's oil imports pass through the South China Sea, as does much intra-Asian trade.

The Spratly Islands dispute is not just over resources and sovereignty but concerns navigation rights of nations as well. The sovereignty issues raises the question of nations' rights to safe passage in waters surrounding the Spratly Islands, and this is of interest to all trading nations.

Strategic Significance

The South China Sea is significant for three strategic reasons. First, the South China Sea has abundant natural resources—biological resources, mineral resources, and oil and natural gas. Several observers have attributed China's claim to the whole South China

Sea to China's need for natural resources to support its economic growth and feed its growing population (estimated at 1.5 billion in 2025).

Second, the South China Sea is a very strategic sea channel that connects the Pacific Ocean with the Indian Ocean. Domination over the South China Sea will drastically increase China's political leverage. Other countries in the region are aware of this. A recent U.S. statement emphasized its concern over the freedom of navigation in the sea. The South China Sea serves as a very important trade lifeline for Japan. Even India, in an annual report of the Ministry of National Defense, expressed its concern about tension in Southeast Asian waters. Southeast Asian countries themselves regard the South China Sea as an anchor for regional stability.

Third, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, which are situated around the South China Sea, are rapidly growing economies.

Oil and Natural Gas

The increasing pace of oil and natural gas production in waters of the South China Sea that are claimed by China and a number of countries in Southeast Asia has raised the stakes in a major struggle to control key resources as well as sea lanes in the region.

If China were to use force to obstruct offshore oil and gas work by Western or Japanese companies in any disputed zones in the South China Sea, it could create tension in the military and foreign policy establishments of virtually every country in the region, as well as inject unwelcome new tensions into Beijing's relations with the United States and Japan.

A Struggle for Resources

Chinese forces took control of the Paracel Islands, in the northern part of the sea, from Vietnam in 1974. Since 1988, China has occupied at least nine parts of the Spratly Islands, in the southern sector of the South China Sea, including Mischief Reef, which it took in February 1995.

That occupation prompted a strong protest from the Philippines, which has since arrested Chinese fishermen and removed Chinese markers and other structures from surrounding reefs. Mischief Reef is only 135 miles from the Philippines and well within its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).

The Mischief Reef takeover was the first time Beijing had occupied territory in the Spratly Islands claimed by a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). ASEAN members are Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. The Mischief Reef is also the southernmost point so far occupied by Beijing in the South China Sea.

Beijing's claim against Indonesia is linked to its assertion of sovereignty over the Spratly Islands several hundred miles northeast of the Natuna Islands. Indonesia has no claim in the Spratly Islands but has been sponsoring talks between the countries that do in an effort to promote a settlement.

Advances in drilling technology and the rising interest of foreign companies in searching for petroleum reserves in the South China Sea are intensifying the potentially explosive territorial disputes between China and Southeast Asian nations.

© SPICE

According to Vietnamese officials, China recently warned Japanese, U.S., Australian, and other foreign oil companies not to get involved in Sino-Vietnamese territorial disputes in the South China Sea.

Resolving Differences

In 1992, the countries involved in the South China Sea dispute signed a declaration, pledging to resolve their differences peacefully and to develop the resources jointly whenever possible.

handout #3

RECORDING SHEET FOR TERRITORIAL DISPUTES IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA SUMMIT

Use this sheet to record summaries of statements made by each country's diplomat. You may also want to use this sheet to write responses to one or more of the countries' views.

China's view ______________________________

Your country's response to China ______________________________

Japan's view ______________________________

Your country's response to Japan ______________________________

United States' view ______________________________

Your country's response to the United States ______________________________

© SPICE

Philippines' view

Your country's response to the Philippines

Malaysia's view

Your country's response to Malaysia

Vietnam's view

Your country's response to Vietnam

Brunei's view

Your country's response to Brunei

Indonesia's view

handout #3

Your country's response to Indonesia____

____

____

Taiwan's view____

____

____

Your country's response to Taiwan____

____

____

THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: CHINA'S VIEW

Instructions

1. Your group's task is to represent the views of China at an upcoming summit in Brunei that focuses on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.
2. Read the background information and key statements provided below.
3. Think about your country's problem listed below and decide on a group strategy to deal with the problem.
4. Select a diplomat to represent China's view at the summit.

Historic Water

The Chinese government has long claimed the South China Sea, saying the Chinese had lived on the reefs and shoals in the Spratly Islands from hundreds of years ago. According to China, the Nansha Islands (the Chinese name for the islands) are not "ownerless reefs because China from time immemorial, has the indisputable sovereignty of the Nansha Islands as well as their surrounding islands."

The Chinese foreign minister has said the South China Sea is the communication and transportation hub of international navigation and aviation and China attaches great importance to safe and free passage in the international sea-lanes there.

The Mischief Reef

The Philippine government protested to Beijing in February 1995 when it discovered that China had built what appeared to be permanent structures on one of the reefs of the Spratly Islands, called Mischief Reef. The Philippines has since been reasserting its claim by blasting Chinese markers on other reefs and arresting 62 Chinese fishermen caught in the area.

Philippine military officials said the structures were nearly identical to those China has built in other parts of the Spratly Islands, which are scattered across a wide area of the South China Sea and believed to possess oil and mineral wealth. This strengthens suggestions by security experts that Beijing was deliberately extending its grip on the islands.

The Chinese side has said that the Chinese fishermen have been fishing in the South China Sea and it has been a traditional production operation. In order to protect their life and production, Chinese fishery authorities have built shelters on some of the reefs, but it is not a military activity and poses no threat to other countries, according to the Chinese government.

China's Perspective

Chinese Party Chief Jiang Zemin has said, "China wishes to see lasting peace and stability in the Asian region and the world for common prosperity and development."

group information sheet #1

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also reiterated the Chinese government's consistent position, that is, settling the dispute peacefully through negotiations. The Ministry said that for the part of the Chinese government, they have always held this position and will continue to make this proposal, and that they will peacefully settle the dispute over the Nansha Islands with the relevant countries through bilateral negotiations. Before the best solution is found, the dispute should be shelved, and development can be made jointly. China's position on this issue is in keeping with its consistent position on all international disputes, according to the Ministry.

The Foreign Minister of China has said that China is willing to negotiate with parties concerned over the related disputes on the Nansha Islands in line with established principles of international law and modern maritime law.

The Taiwan Issue

Chinese military modernization has prompted Taiwan to try and bolster its defense through the purchase of submarines.

The Problem

Your country's economic growth and increasing demands from a growing population (estimated at 1.5 billion in 2025) calls for an increase in demand of natural resources, especially oil. Historically, China has laid claim to the islands of the South China Sea region, asserting that they have always been China's territory.

Your country prefers to discuss issues related to your territorial claims in the South China Sea in a bilateral manner. In preparation for the summit, meet with a diplomat from the Philippines to discuss Mischief Reef and a diplomat from Taiwan to talk about defense issues.

THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: THE UNITED STATES' VIEW

Instructions

1. Your group's task is to represent the views of the United States at an upcoming summit in Brunei that focuses on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.
2. Read the background information and key statements provided below.
3. Think about your country's problem listed below and decide on a group strategy to deal with the problem.
4. Select a diplomat to represent the United States' view at the summit.

U.S. Policy on the Dispute

U.S. officials, carefully pointing out they do not take sides on the Spratly Islands issue, said the dispute should be settled through peaceful negotiations. Military threats, they said, should not be raised as a way to gain leverage in the discussions. The U.S. and Indonesia have adopted the same strategy of resolving the growing tension in the South China Sea through peaceful negotiations.

The China Issue

The Clinton administration called on Beijing to settle peacefully a potentially explosive territorial dispute with four other nations over a chain of islands in the South China Sea. China, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei, and Taiwan claim all or part of the oil-rich Spratly Islands. U.S. officials and military analysts say Beijing, which recently added fuel to the debate by building "hut-like structures" on one of the islands claimed by Manila, has beefed up its naval forces in recent years in the South China Sea as a show of strength and to defend its position.

China's Reaction to U.S. Policy

A Chinese foreign ministry spokesman said, "China and the relevant countries are all independent sovereign states and are fully capable of settling these issues through bilateral talks." China will not "bend down in the face of any pressure," he said, reiterating the country's "irrefutable sovereignty" over the South China Sea. China says some 80 percent of the South China Sea are its historical waters, but experts say it has yet to detail its claims. China's neighbors, however, are increasingly asking China to explain and prove the extent and nature of its claims.

Search for Oil

U.S. oil companies are competitively drilling for oil in the Spratly Islands under the sponsorship of China and Vietnam, which could drag the United States into any conflict in the area. Malaysia has also awarded U.S. oil corporations rights to drill for oil within its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).

group information sheet #2

Vietnam for its part has revived an exploration agreement with U.S. oil giant Mobil Corporation that had been dormant since 1975. It has been joined by several private and state-run Japanese companies, further involving Japan in the Spratly Islands dispute.

The Problem

The United States' policy on the territorial dispute is one of keeping security in the region while maintaining a neutral stance. It believes the dispute should be settled through peaceful negotiations and opposes the threat or use of force. The U.S. also has an economic interest in the Spratly Islands as U.S. oil companies have joined in explorations with other countries for resources in the area.

In preparation for the summit, meet with a diplomat from Japan to discuss relevant issues. Also, meet with a representative from Taiwan to talk about the defense issue concerning China. Finally, meet with a diplomat from Malaysia to discuss pertinent topics, including joint exploration for oil.

© SPICE

group information sheet #3

THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: JAPAN'S VIEW

Instructions

1. Your group's task is to represent the views of Japan at an upcoming summit in Brunei that focuses on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.
2. Read the background information and key statements provided below.
3. Think about your country's problem listed below and decide on a group strategy to deal with the problem.
4. Select a diplomat to represent Japan's view at the summit.

Background Information

For Japan, the Spratly Islands straddle vital shipping lanes. Container traffic between Hong Kong and Singapore passes near the islands, with at least five southbound and four northbound vessels on any given day. Analysts point out that the Spratly Islands lie in the most strategic waterway in the region—one of the busiest shipping lanes in the world and the route for 70 percent of Japan's imports, including over 70 percent of Japan's oil supply.

Indonesia, which has pushed for a multilateral solution, has called on the United States, Japan, and other international powers to intervene diplomatically to check China. This means Tokyo would be forced to take action to keep the vital waterway open should a dispute arise between China and Vietnam or any of the other parties.

Vietnam for its part has revived an exploration agreement with U.S. oil giant Mobil Corporation that had been dormant since 1975. It has been joined by several private and state-run Japanese companies, further involving Japan.

Japanese Prime Minister Murayama, during a visit to a key symbol of his country's wartime aggression in China, said it had reinforced his determination to work for peace.

The Japanese official reiterated Tokyo's call for "more transparency" in China's military policy and spending, and for Beijing to join the international moratorium on nuclear testing.

When Murayama brought up Japanese concerns about the escalation in tension between China and rival claimants to the South China Sea's Spratly Islands, the China side simply retorted that Beijing "is opposed to interference in this issue by external forces and any internationalization of this issue."

Japan's Economic Aid to China

Japanese Prime Minister Murayama announced punitive steps Tokyo will take to show its displeasure at a Chinese underground nuclear test. China exploded a nuclear weapon at a testing site in its western desert only hours after the international community agreed to indefinitely extend the Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). "A comprehensive decision will be made taking into consideration overall relations between Japan and China," a Japanese foreign ministry official said.

group information sheet #3

The steps were likely to include a symbolic cut in Tokyo's grant aid to Beijing designed to assuage Japanese domestic opinion without damaging Sino–Japanese relations. It would be the first time Japan has used its economic aid to protest against Chinese policy.

Japan joined a worldwide chorus of protests against China, already a source of anxiety in Asia for its military buildup and assertive territorial claims in the South China Sea.

The Problem

Your country has no claims in the South China Sea. However, over 70 percent of your country's oil passes through the South China Sea. Guaranteed safety in the sea lanes is vital to your country's future.

In preparation for the summit, meet with a diplomat from the United States and a diplomat from Indonesia to discuss issues relevant to Japan.

© SPICE

THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: INDONESIA'S VIEW

Instructions

1. Your group's task is to represent the views of Indonesia at an upcoming summit in Brunei that focuses on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.
2. Read the background information and key statements listed provided below.
3. Think about your country's problem listed below and decide on a group strategy to deal with the problem.
4. Select a diplomat to represent Indonesia's view at the summit.

Background Information

Indonesia is a country consisting of more than 13,600 islands. Indonesia doesn't have a claim to any of the islands of the Spratly Islands group. However, in 1994, China included Indonesia's rich Natuna gas field in its maps of claims in the South China Sea. China's historic claims to the South China Sea runs between Indonesia's Natuna Islands and the gas field. The gas field lies 250 kilometers northeast of the islands, and is well inside Indonesia's 200-mile (320-kilometer) Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Natuna, one of the world's largest gas fields, was discovered in the 1970s and has an estimated 45 trillion cubic feet in gas reserves.

Because it does not claim the Spratly Islands, Indonesia has been playing the role of honest broker between the various claimants, a role that would be impossible to fulfill were it to find itself in conflict with China.

Indonesia welcomes the U.S. administration's policy towards the growing tension in the South China Sea. The United States and Indonesia have adopted the same strategy of resolving the growing tension in the South China Sea through peaceful negotiations.

Indonesia has taken strategic steps to face instability in the South China Sea. Indonesia plans to turn greater Natuna Island into its largest resettlement location. The government will cooperate with the private sector in opening palm oil and rubber plantations and raising prawns and fish to feed the resettlers. A palm oil plantation covering a large area will reportedly be opened to support 10,000 resettler families. The efforts will reaffirm Indonesia's sovereignty and the islands will serve as an outer defense line.

Meanwhile, Indonesian air patrols in the Natuna Islands and their surrounding waters will be further increased. The procurement of sophisticated military hardware and software and their supporting facilities is indispensable in the face of the growing uncertainty in the world.

The Problem

The Indonesian oil company Pertamina and the U.S. oil company Exxon recently reached agreement on a $35 billion deal to develop the Natuna gas field. Indonesia is already looking for supply contracts among its major customers: utilities in South

Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. The Indonesia government announced in 1994 that it plans to resettle thousands of families to the island of Natuna with the promise of free land for housing, and livelihood projects such as palm oil, rubber, and offshore fisheries.

As a group, decide on a strategy to deal with this problem facing your country. As part of your strategy, you will need to send representatives to meet with someone from the United States and Japan.

© SPICE

group information sheet #5

THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: BRUNEI'S VIEW

Instructions

1. Your group's task is to represent the views of Brunei at an upcoming summit in your country that focuses on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.
2. Read the background information and key statements provided below.
3. Think about your country's problem listed below and decide on a group strategy to deal with the problem.
4. Select a diplomat to represent Brunei's view at the summit.
5. You also need to prepare the logistics for the summit. Select a facilitator for the summit. The facilitator will be responsible for introducing speakers and for keeping people on task. The order of speakers and allocated times are as follows:

   Opening statement: China (5 minutes)

   Opening statements: United States; Japan (5 minutes each)

   Opening statements: Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Taiwan, the Philippines (5 minutes each)

   Open discussion (15-20 minutes)

   Policy writing (20-30 minutes)

   You also need to select a timekeeper that ensures that each speaker is given only five minutes to speak.

Background Information

While Vietnam has occupied 22 isles and reefs in the Spratly Islands group, China 9, Malaysia 4, Taiwan 1, and the Philippines 8, Brunei does not occupy any because the only reef it claims is occupied by Malaysia. The one reef that Brunei claims is the Louisa Reef, near the North Luconia Shoals.

The Economic Exclusion Zone (EEZ) of Brunei encompasses at least some of the Spratly Islands. The territorial ambitions of Malaysia, Brunei, and the Philippines in the Spratly Islands are relatively modest: they want recognition of the fact that some of the islets lie within their economic sphere, and desire peaceful exploration of seabed resources.

Multilateral Focus

A meeting of senior officials of ASEAN in Brunei was a step forward because it established the precedent of discussing the Spratly Islands issue multilaterally, assessed the U.S. Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific. He added, "We want to be sensitive to China's concerns, but we also think it is not credible for countries to get together in a regional security dialogue and not talk about the Spratlys (Spratly Islands)."

group information sheet #5

The Problem

Your country does not occupy any islands in the South China Sea but claims one reef. Furthermore, Brunei depends on oil for the maintenance of its relatively high standard of living. And as host of the upcoming summit, you must make certain all views are expressed fairly and discussed multilaterally.

In preparation for the summit, meet with a diplomat from Malaysia to discuss your territorial claim over the Malaysian-occupied reef. In addition, meet with a diplomat from Vietnam to talk about relevant issues.

THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: MALAYSIA'S VIEW

Instructions

1. Your group's task is to represent the views of Malaysia at an upcoming summit in Brunei that focuses on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.
2. Read the background information and key statements provided below.
3. Think about your country's problem listed below and decide on a group strategy to deal with the problem.
4. Select a diplomat to represent Malaysia's view at the summit.

Background Information

Malaysia has established sovereignty over a South China Sea island, which the people of Malaysia call Layang-Layang, in the Spratly Islands. Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad was reported as saying, "We have determined that it (the island) is in our waters because it lies within our Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ)." Mahatir said the ownership of Layang-Layang should no longer be disputed and other countries should not lay claims to the island, located off Malaysia's eastern state of Sabah. Layang-Layang is reportedly being developed into a tourist destination. It is described as the only island in the Spratly Islands that is open to the public.

Malaysia has found a cause to worry because of one shoal that China claims is just 48 kilometers off Sarawak's coast and near its offshore gas fields. Malaysia has arrested the crew of a Chinese fishing boat that intruded into its waters.

Malaysia is also currently occupying Louisa Reef, near the North Luconia Shoals. This territory is also claimed by Brunei. Malaysia also has territorial disputes with neighboring Thailand, Singapore, and Indonesia.

Defense

Malaysia is developing Layang-Layang as a tourist resort, and is concerned about the free passage of Malaysian vessels in the area.

A top official has said that Malaysia will build up its navy by buying battleships and new equipment to effectively protect its territorial waters.

"The armed forces has to be prepared at all times to meet any eventuality," said an armed forces chief. He also said all three units of armed forces—the army, navy, and air force—must work closely to defend the nation's natural resources.

The Probiem

Your country's economic interest in Layang-Layang needs to be protected. You wish to avoid entering any major conflicts with China as well as other countries involved in the territorial dispute. In addition, the Louisa Reef dispute needs to be handled bilaterally with Brunei.

group information sheet #6

In preparation for the summit, meet with a diplomat from the United States to discuss relevant issues, including defense and economic investment. In addition, meet with a representative from Brunei to discuss Louisa Reef.

© SPICE

THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: PHILIPPINES' VIEW

Instructions

1. Your group's task is to represent the views of the Philippines at an upcoming summit in Brunei that focuses on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.
2. Read the background information and key statements listed provided below.
3. Think about your country's problem listed below and decide on a group strategy to deal with the problem.
4. Select a diplomat to represent the Philippines' view at the summit.

Historical Information

In total, the Philippines claims about 50 islets in the Spratly Islands group, forming a region called Kalayaan. Mischief Reef forms part of the Spratly Islands to which China, along with Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei, have laid claims.

In February 1995, the government of the Philippines protested angrily at the discovery of Chinese installations on an island on Mischief Reef, within the Philippines' 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). China does not recognize such zones.

Countering the Philippine government's anger with the assertion that the structures were nothing more than shelters for fishermen, China met with members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and stated that it did not wish this issue to impair its relations with ASEAN. ASEAN reminded the Chinese side that China has one voice on the issue. China said it would not negotiate the matter multilaterally, but was willing to enter bilateral discussions on joint development of the mineral resources that the archipelago is thought to contain.

The Chinese have recently constructed further military facilities on a tide-covered shoal generally accepted to be within the territory of the Philippines, which has for many years occupied some of the islets.

The Dilemma with China

When a group of Philippine and foreign journalists inspected the area in May 1995, organized by the Philippine government to back up its claims that China had installed military installations, the journalists said they were harassed by the Chinese shipping crew.

Even though it has called for peaceful resolution to the matter, China still seeks to project its claim at this juncture. It has agreed to discuss a code of conduct for the Spratly Islands with the Philippines but is steadfastly refusing to allow multilateral discussion of the issues.

The Philippines, which is militarily the weakest claimant to the Spratly Islands, has also destroyed several Chinese markers on reefs there and arrested 62 Chinese fishermen caught fishing in Philippine-claimed waters.

group information sheet #7

Natural Resources

Manila has granted a permit to a U.S.-Philippines joint venture to explore for oil in the South China Sea. The area is reputedly rich in oil, gas, and mineral deposits.

The Problem

Your country is experiencing an increasing demand for oil, gas and other natural resources, all of which supposedly exist in the disputed area. Although a few other countries lay claims on the Spratly Islands, the Philippines only claim the area known as Kalayaan.

In preparation for the summit, meet with a diplomat from China to discuss the Mischief Reef incident. Also, meet with a diplomat from Vietnam to talk about relevant issues.

© SPICE

group information sheet #8

THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: TAIWAN'S VIEW

Instructions

1. Your group's task is to represent the views of Taiwan at an upcoming summit in Brunei that focuses on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.
2. Read the background information and key statements provided below.
3. Think about your country's problem listed below and decide on a group strategy to deal with the problem.
4. Select a diplomat to represent Taiwan's view at the summit.

Historical Facts

In 1895, Japan gained control of Taiwan as a result of the first Sino-Japanese war. China regained Taiwan after World War II ended in 1945. In 1949, the Chinese Communists defeated Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists forces and took control of the mainland. Chiang Kai-shek then moved his government to Taiwan in December, 1949.

Taiwan has banned direct contact with China since the end of the Chinese civil war in 1949. Indirect contacts and economic ties have flourished since political tensions thawed in the late 1980s.

China considers Taiwan a renegade province and has bitterly fought any attempt by Taiwan to gain international recognition or to become a member of the United Nations. Taiwan was excluded from the United Nations when China accepted U.N. membership in October 1971.

Background Information on the Spratly Islands Dispute

In 1989, Taiwan set up a national monument in the Pratas Islands group to assert its sovereignty in the area. Waters around the not-so-distant Pratas attract many Taiwanese fishermen, especially during March and April.

One of the largest islands in the Spratly Islands group has a Taiwan marine detachment stationed on it. The surrounding area is rich in fish, minerals, and petroleum sources.

Taiwan also plans to set up its first meteorological station in the Spratly Islands in a bid to secure its sovereignty. Officially, the Taiwanese say the Spratly Islands are important to them as a meteorological advance warning center because many of the typhoons that hit their island originate in the area. Taiwan has repeatedly said, however, that it wants to put aside sovereignty issues and jointly develop the Spratly Islands' resources with other claimants, namely, China, the Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Brunei.

Taiwan and China have been jointly searching for oil in the South China Sea since 1994.

However, in talks with China, a Taiwanese representative in Manila, Philippines, said Beijing has always excluded Taiwan from discussions about joint development efforts and negotiations in the dispute over the Spratly Islands.

group information sheet #8

Defense Issue

After the Korean War began in 1950, the United States said it would protect Taiwan against possible attack from mainland China.

Taiwan has been preparing for the purchase of advanced submarines for patrolling the waters around the country. Taiwan officials argue the new submarines are needed to counter China's ambitious naval modernization program, which includes the acquisition by Beijing of a fleet of the newest Russian submarines. The Clinton administration has so far blunted Taiwan's efforts to acquire the advanced submarines, saying their underwater stealth capacity is an offensive weapon unneeded for Taiwan's defense. But Taiwanese officials and some members of the U.S. Congress continue to push the issue. "One of the threats we face is naval blockade," said a spokesman for Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "If the People's Republic of China decides to conduct a blockade they will use subs, so we need anti-submarine capability."

The submarine issue is part of a fierce debate raging in policy circles over the reasons behind China's decision to build up its armed forces. Some analysts argue that the spending spree represents an overdue modernization drive made possible by its new economic growth. Other China-watchers argue that military modernization by China is part of a rising nationalist sentiment in an awakening giant aching to reassert long-frustrated demands, including the claim that Taiwan is a renegade province that eventually will be integrated into the mainland. Either way, the buildup allows politicians jockeying for position in the post-Deng Xiaoping (China's paramount leader) world to curry favor with the military. No one hoping to stay in power after Deng dies can afford to appear soft on issues such as the Spratly Islands.

The Problem

Your country's economic as well as military interest in some of the Spratly Islands needs to be protected from entering any major conflicts with China as well as other countries involved in the territorial dispute. Taiwan's strategy is one of peaceful settlement of the overlapping claims to the islands, especially with China.

In preparation for the summit, meet with a diplomat from the United States to discuss relevant issues, including defense and economic investment. Also meet with a diplomat from China to discuss joint development efforts for natural resources, negotiations in the dispute over the Spratly Islands, and finally, the defense issue.

THE SOUTH CHINA SEA: VIETNAM'S VIEW

Instructions

1. Your group's task is to represent the views of Vietnam at an upcoming summit in Brunei that focuses on territorial disputes in the South China Sea.
2. Read the background information and key statements provided below.
3. Think about your country's problem listed below and decide on a group strategy to deal with the problem.
4. Select a diplomat to represent Vietnam's view at the summit.

Background Information

Vietnam is among six claimants to all or part of the Spratly Islands, along with China, Malaysia, Taiwan, the Philippines, and Brunei.

Vietnam has rejected the claim by Taiwan and China to most of the South China Sea, including the disputed Spratly Islands. A claim by Taiwan and China to "sovereignty over the U-shaped historical territorial waters" was groundless and absurd, the Foreign Ministry of Vietnam was quoted as saying.

Such a claim would violate the seas and continental shelves of Vietnam and other countries around the South China Sea, which Vietnam calls the Eastern Sea, and would threaten the freedom of shipping and regional stability.

While Malaysia and the Philippines claim only parts of the Spratly Islands, China and Vietnam claim the entire archipelago, principally on historical grounds. Both vigorously contest the claim of the other and consider their own claim "indisputable."

Vietnam has also been involved in disputes with China over fishing, oil drilling rights, and boundaries in other parts of the South China Sea, which China claims as its own.

Military Clash

China has not hesitated to use military force against the Vietnamese in past territorial disputes. Chinese naval forces drove Vietnam from the Paracel Islands in 1973 and clashed with Vietnamese ships resupplying their garrisons in the Spratly Islands in 1988.

China may feel pressured to act militarily against Vietnam in the near future.

This possibility is occurring within the context of rapidly expanding needs for new sources of oil and gas to spur continued economic growth in China and Vietnam.

Natural Resources

Onshore oil fields in China are currently unable to keep pace with expanding internal demands for petroleum products and new sources are desperately needed.

While Vietnam remains largely under-industrialized, offshore oil provides a valuable export product that brings in nearly a third of all export earnings.

group information sheet #9

China and Vietnam are competing for the same finite offshore oil deposits. Oil extraction by one party could deplete what is left for the other. Thus, a major find by either party could give China a reason to act against Vietnam under the rubric of protecting China's national resources.

ASEAN

In July 1995, Vietnam became the seventh member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), founded in August 1967, and the first new entrant since Brunei joined in January 1984. For ASEAN, Vietnam's membership should further enhance regional solidarity. In the long term it is also likely to lead Laos, Cambodia, and Myanmar (Burma)—the only Southeast Asian countries who remain outside ASEAN—to join.

For Vietnam, membership to ASEAN could considerably strengthen its diplomatic position at a time when tension between China and its Southeast Asian neighbors could be growing.

The Problem

Your country's expanding needs for new sources of natural resources force your country to hold steadfastly onto its claim of the Spratly Islands. Reacting to the pressure from China, Vietnam may need to increase its defense along its island territories.

In preparation for the summit, meet with a diplomat from Brunei to discuss the dispute in the Spratly Islands and ASEAN. Also, meet with a representative from the Philippines to discuss relevant issues.

Lesson 6

ASIA–PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Organizing Questions

- What is Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)?
- What are some Japanese and U.S. perspectives on APEC related to China?

Introduction

This lesson first introduces students to APEC and its 18 members through a geographic exercise and a look at APEC's goals and activities. Students then learn about APEC's working groups through nine small group activities.

Objectives

knowledge

- to gain a basic understanding of APEC and its role in economic development
- to gain knowledge about U.S. and Japanese relations with China through their interaction within APEC
- to become aware of the ten working groups that comprise APEC

attitude

- to learn about Chinese, U.S., and Japanese perspectives on APEC and its various working groups
- to develop an appreciation for the complexity involved in reaching consensus within these working groups

skill

- to critically analyze data and primary sources
- to effectively present a summary of group activities

Materials

- Overview of Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation, overhead transparency
- Map of the Asia/Pacific Region, overhead transparency
- Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation, for the teacher
- Working Group #1: Human Resources Development, one copy
- Working Group #2: Tourism, one copy
- Working Group #3: Trade and Investment Data/Trade Promotion, one copy

- Working Group #4: Fisheries, one copy
- Working Group #5: Marine Resource Conservation, one copy
- Working Group #6: Energy Cooperation, one copy
- Working Group #7: Industrial Science and Technology, one copy
- Working Group #8: Transportation, one copy
- Working Group #9: Telecommunications, optional, one copy
- U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China, transparency

Procedure

1. Ask if students have heard of the European Union (EU) or North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Mention to students that Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) is another type of regional grouping for economic cooperation.

2. Using the overhead transparency, Overview of Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation, review APEC's objectives, basis of operation, and participation. Point out that APEC member nations buy approximately half of U.S. exports and approximately 60 percent of U.S. imports are from APEC member nations.

3. There are 18 members of APEC. APEC was formed in November 1989, originally with [illegible] members. Using the Overhead transparency, Map of the Asia/Pacific Region, have students identify the following 18 members of APEC:

Australia
Brunei
Canada
Chile
China
Hong Kong
Indonesia
Japan
Republic of Korea
Malaysia
Mexico
New Zealand
Papua New Guinea
Republic of the Philippines
Singapore
Taiwan
Thailand
United States

4. Mention to students that the activities of APEC are organized into ten working groups. Nine activities, reflecting the activities of these working groups, are provided in this lesson. Note that Working Group #3 in this lesson incorporates two working groups, Trade and Investment Data and Trade Promotion. Working Group #9 requires working with the World Wide Web and is optional. Depending on the number of students in the class, divide the class according to the following information. A summary of the student activity is provided for the teacher's reference.

- Working Group #1: Human Resources Development
  2–3 students
  activity: creation of an informational packet about students' school and city

- Working Group #2: Tourism
  2–3 students
  activity: designing a tourism brochure
- Working Group #3: Trade and Investment Data/Trade Promotion
  2–3 students
  activity: analyzing data and creating political cartoons
- Working Group #4: Fisheries
  at least 3 students
  activity: analyzing primary news sources
- Working Group #5: Marine Resource Conservation
  at least 3 students
  activity: analyzing primary news sources
- Working Group #6: Energy Cooperation
  at least 3 students
  activity: analyzing primary news sources
- Working Group #7: Industrial Science and Technology
  at least 3 students
  activity: creating a marketing plan
- Working Group #8: Transportation, one copy
  2–3 students
  activity: analyzing graphs
- Working Group #9: Telecommunications, one copy
  2– 3 students
  activity: working with the World Wide Web

  Note: This activity requires access to the World Wide Web

5. Allow a class period for the working groups to meet and work on their activities.
6. In a following class period, allow the working groups 5 minutes to present their summaries and conclusions. Debrief with the following:
   - For the Human Resources Development Working Group, how could the information sheet be useful to other foreign students who enroll in your school?
   - For the Tourism Working Group, what procedure did you use to compile information for the brochure?
   - For the Trade and Investment Data/Trade Promotion Working Group, which countries' perspectives were presented in your political cartoons?
   - For the Fisheries Working Group, what are some other controversial marine issues that have drawn international attention?

- For the Marine Resource Conservation Working Group, describe some of the similarities and differences between the articles from China, Japan, and the United States.
- For the Energy Cooperation Working Group, ask the rest of the class about whether or not they agree with the president's decision.
- For the Industrial Science and Technology Working Group, what are some of the reactions of the rest of the class to the products selected for sale to China?
- For the Transportation Working Group, how do these modes of transportation in China and Japan compare with those used by students to get to your school?
- For the Telecommunications Working Group, what aspect of the APEC official home page was particularly useful?

7. Bring closure to this curriculum unit by showing the transparency, U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China. This was developed by a U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China.[1]

   Select a student reader to read the information on the transparency, and have students draw upon information they learned in this curriculum unit to discuss the following:

   - Describe the interdependence that exists between the United States, Japan, and China; and between the nations in Asia.
   - How can APEC help to increase communication between and among nations?
   - Discuss the statement: "The U.S.–Japan relationship has become more crucial than ever."
   - What are some political, economic, and strategic issues related to China that have evoked different interpretations and policies from the United States and Japan?

Policy Study References

U.S.–Japan Consultative Group on Policies Toward the People's Republic of China. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Economic Issues*. New York: The Asia Society, 1992.

Gaston Sigur Center at George Washington University, unpublished papers presented at a workshop, Tokyo, April 17–18, 1994.

---

[1] A project cosponsored by The Asia Society and the Japan Institute of International Affairs. This group consisted of American and Japanese scholars, journalists, and governmental, educational, and corporate leaders. Three meetings of the group were held from 1991-1993, and the areas of focus were U.S.–Japan policy dialogue on China in the areas of economics, politics, and security.

OVERVIEW OF ASIA–PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Objectives

- to sustain the growth and development of the region and, in this way, contribute to the growth and development of the world economy
- to enhance the positive gains resulting from increasing economic interdependence
- to develop and strengthen the open multilateral trading system
- to reduce barriers to trade in goods, services, and investment

Basis of Operation

- the principle of mutual benefit, taking into account differences in the stages of economic development and in sociopolitical systems and giving due consideration to the needs of developing economies
- a commitment to open dialogue and consensus building, with equal respect for the views of all participants

Participation

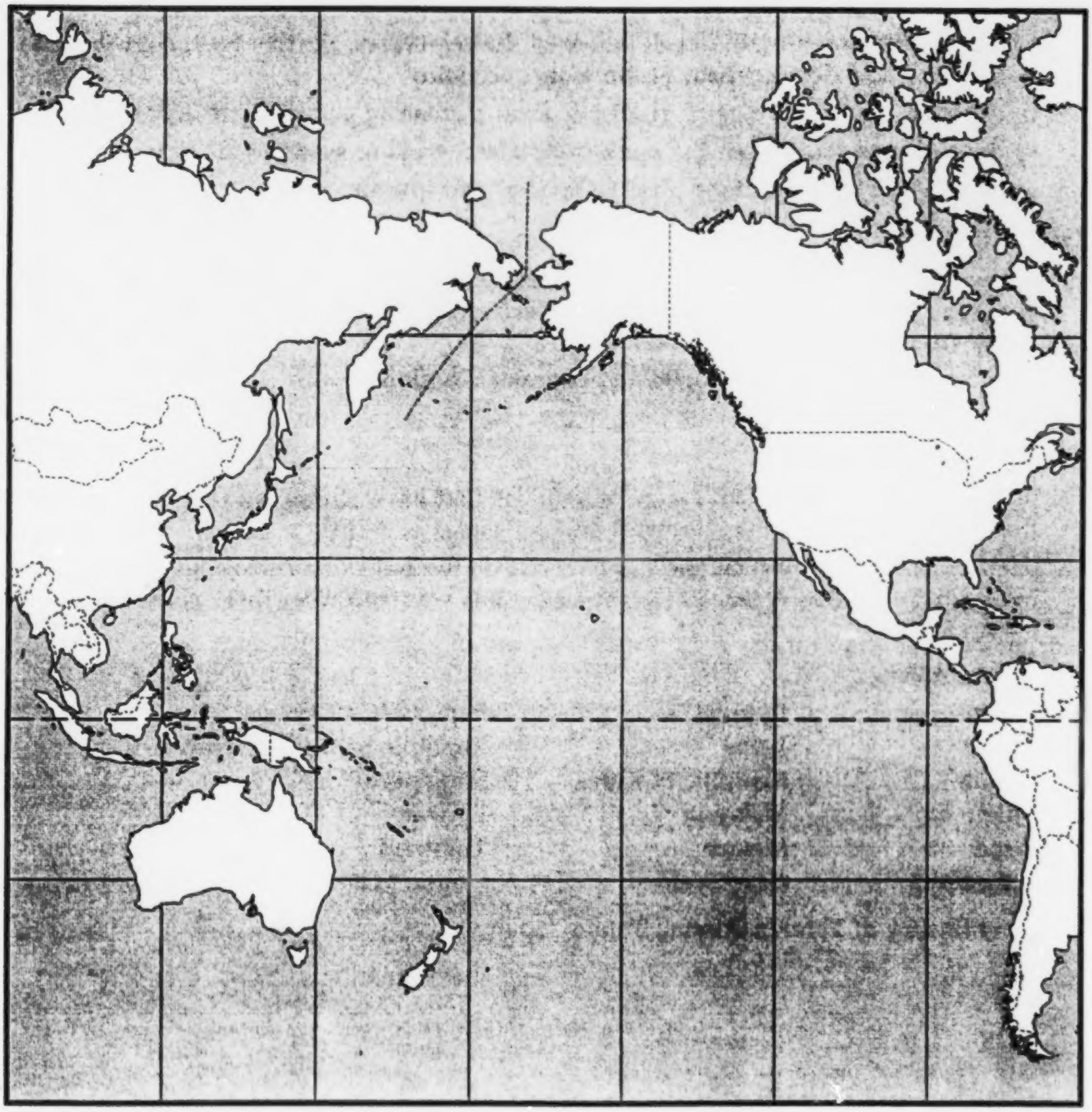
- open, in principle, to Asia/Pacific economies that have strong economic linkages in the region and accept the objectives and principles of APEC
- decisions on future participation to be made on the basis of a consensus of all existing participants (Acceptance of new participants was frozen for three years starting from 1994.)

Current members:

Australia
Brunei
Canada
Chile
China
Hong Kong
Indonesia
Japan
Republic of Korea
Malaysia
Mexico
New Zealand
Papua New Guinea
Republic of the Philippines
Singapore
Taiwan
Thailand
United States

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, Japan

MAP OF THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

© SPICE

ASIA–PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION

In November 1989, foreign ministers and economic ministers from 12 Asia-Pacific countries gathered in Canberra, Australia, for the inaugural ministerial meeting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. The countries represented were Australia, Canada, Japan, the Republic of Korea, New Zealand, the United States, and the members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, or Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Republic of the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. Discussion during this conference focused on four areas: global and regional economic development, global trade liberalization, regional cooperation in specific sectors, and future economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The participants agreed that, for the sake of the global economy's development, they would work together to maintain and strengthen the multilateral free-trade system and to promote the Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. They also confirmed their intention not to form a closed trading bloc, instead seeking to realize open regional cooperation, and to work in a complementary fashion with such existing regional organizations as ASEAN and the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council.

Following its first meeting, APEC ministerial meetings were organized annually, and at the third annual meeting, held in Seoul in November 1991, a statement on aims was adopted. A high-level working group called SOM, the Senior Officials' Meeting, has been set up, and operating under it are the Committee on Trade and Investment, the Budget and Administrative Committee, and the Economic Committee, along with ten working groups. In 1992, APEC set up a small secretariat located in Singapore and established a budget system.

After the November 1993 ministerial meeting in Seattle, U.S. President Bill Clinton hosted an economic leaders' meeting, at which the respective leaders confirmed their shared understanding of the regional economy and the issues facing it. This meeting gave a major boost to APEC's development by providing it with a sense of direction regarding the means and ends of regional cooperation and the role to be played by the region as a whole.

The November 1994 ministerial meeting took place in Indonesia, and again an economic leaders' meeting was held on the occasion. The economic leaders adopted the Bogor Declaration, a statement of common resolve by APEC economic ministers. This declaration has set the goal of liberalizing regional trade and investment by 2020, or 2010 in the case of the industrialized economies. Japan was the chair of the 1995 APEC conference.

Source: excerpted from APEC Almanac '95 published by Foreign Press Center, Tokyo, Japan

working group #1

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

The activities of the Human Resources Development Working Group include the exchange of information within APEC on business administration, industrial training and innovation, project management, and development planning; undertaking more than 50 projects, including human resource development efforts in small/medium enterprises, developing a quality workforce through on-the-job training, and the compilation of comparable education statistics in the APEC region; the survey and analysis of labor markets; planning and implementation of various projects for human resources development in one or a combination of the fields of economic development, business management, industrial technology, and education; and follow-up activities for human resources development in each specific area of the other working groups.

Background information

One area of activity for the Human Resources Working Group is developing human resources through education and training. For years, colleges and universities in the United States have provided opportunities for students from China and other countries to receive postsecondary education. In fact, almost 250,000 students from APEC countries were studying in the United States in 1994-95, and nearly 40,000 of them were from China. One concern of the United States and China is that a large number of the students who come to the United States to study do not immediately return to China. Examine the following statistics:

Top Ten Senders of Foreign Students to the United States, 1994-95

Japan 45,276 China 39,403 Taiwan 36,407 Republic of Korea 33,599 India 33,537 Canada 22,747 Malaysia 13,617 Hong Kong 12,935 Indonesia 11,872 Thailand 10,889

Top Majors of Foreign Students in the United States, 1994-95

Business 20% Engineering 16% Physical and Life Sciences 8% Mathematics & Computer Science 8% Social Sciences 8%

Population of China: 1,190,431,106
Number of college students in China: 2,270,772 (.1% of the population)
Number of Chinese students in U.S. universities: 39,403 (.003% of the population)

Population of Japan: 125,106,937
Number of college students in Japan: 2,899,143 (2.3% of the population)
Number of Japanese students in U.S. universities: 45,276 (.036% of the population)

Source: UNESCO. *1994 UNESCO Statistical Yearbook*. Paris, France: UNESCO, 1994.

Some Questions for Group Discussion:

- Why do you think Chinese students come to the United States to study?
- How does international student exchange have an effect on human resources development?
- What are the benefits for China from this student exchange?
- What are the benefits for the United States?
- What kinds of problems do you think Chinese students might encounter when they first arrive in the United States?
- How can American students help them to adjust to life in the United States?

Group Task

Imagine that a new APEC program sponsored by the Human Resources Development Working Group will sponsor a student from China to study at your school. Create an information sheet that you could send to him/her before the student arrives that would introduce him/her to your school and city. Include information that you think would ease his/her transition to U.S. society, culture, and education. Be prepared to present your information sheet to the class and explain why you included what you did.

TOURISM

Introduction

As one of the working groups of APEC, the Tourism group is responsible for compiling information on tourism. In addition, it studies databases, methods, and projects for promoting tourism as well as studying how to foster human resources to manage tourism resources. The group highlights the significant role tourism has in the development of the APEC region and works to develop further activities in tourism.

Background Information

Discuss the following statistics on tourism in three APEC countries: United States, Japan, and China.

Number of Foreign Visitors

	1991	1992	1993
United States	n/a	47,261,000	45,779,000
Japan	3,532,651	3,581,540	n/a
China	33,349,800	38,114,900	41,626,900

Source: *The Europa World Yearbook*. Volumes I and II. England: Europa Publications, Ltd., 1995.

According to the data, what can you understand about the tourism industry in each of these countries? Is tourism a big industry in these countries?

Research another member country of APEC from the following list:

Australia
Brunei
Canada
Chile
China
Hong Kong
Indonesia
Japan
Republic of Korea
Malaysia
Mexico
New Zealand
Papua New Guinea
Republic of the Philippines
Singapore
Taiwan
Thailand
United States

Group Task

Design a brochure that promotes tourism in the selected APEC country. Keep in mind which category of information is appropriate for a tourism brochure. Also, focus on the language used to describe the country. Should sentences be simple and concise, or flowery with many adjectives? Should the tone be strictly objective or highly promotional? What, if any, supplementary material needs to be included in the brochure? Would you insert a map? How about a directory of useful addresses and phone numbers? Are colorful photographs necessary in the brochure? What about charts and graphs? Be prepared to present your brochure to the class.

© SPICE

working group #3

TRADE AND INVESTMENT DATA/TRADE PROMOTION

Introduction

APEC has two working groups dealing with the issue of trade: Trade and Investment Data Review Group and Trade Promotion Group. The Trade and Investment Data Review Group seeks to increase the utility of statistical data on APEC trade and to improve regional consultations on data collection methods. Its goal is to establish comparable statistical databases on trade in goods and services and investment for APEC member economies. Activities include compilation of comparable data on commodity trade, construction of a commodity trade database, and study of data adjustment methods in workshops. The Trade Promotion Working Group organizes trade promotion seminars and training sessions and hosts trade fairs. In addition, it compiles a study of trade and industry information networks, including collecting information and data to be used by the business sector.

Background information

Study the trade data below of three countries: the United States, Japan, and China. Discuss them among your group, and answer the questions that follow.

Principle Trading Partners

	Import		Export	
	1991	1992	1991	1992
United States	1. Japan	Canada	Canada	Canada
	2. Canada	Japan	Japan	Japan
	3. Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico
Japan	1. U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.
	2. China	China	Germany	Taiwan
	3. Australia	Australia	South Korea	Hong Kong
China	1. Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Hong Kong
	2. Japan	Japan	Japan	Japan
	3. U.S.	U.S.	U.S.	U.S.

Principle Commodities (in US$ million):

	Imports		Exports	
China	1991	1992	1991	1992
Food & Live Animals	2,964.7	3,150.6	7,387.6	8,289.0
Crude Materials (except fuels)	4,997.8	5,509.0	3,480.5	3,134.8
Mineral Fuels, Lubricants, etc.	2,113.1	3,609.5	4,753.7	4,694.7
Chemicals & Related Products	9,307.8	11,083.8	3,848.9	4,308.6
Basic Manufactures	13,780.1	19,949.8	14,735.3	16,435.1
Machinery/Transport Equipment	25,664.9	30,728.8	13,908.1	3,172.6
Misc. Manufactured Articles	3,826.3	5,204.6	22,312.3	33,605.0

Principle Commodities (in US$ million, continued):

Japan	Imports		Exports	
	1991	1992	1991	1992
Food & Live Animals	30,739.8	33,356.3	1,606.5	1,654.5
Crude Materials (except fuels)	26,689.8	25,435.6	1,900.9	2,136.9
Mineral Fuels, Lubricants, etc.	54,756.3	52,738.5	1,322.4	1,624.4
Chemicals & Related Products	17,411.8	17,355.1	17,474.8	19,117.8
Basic Manufactures	31,950.4	26,871.9	37,262.4	38,669.4
Machinery/Transport Equipment	39,458.3	39,341.8	221,148.2	240,820.6
Misc. Manufactured Articles	25,879.6	28,151.2	28,507.5	21,922.8

United States	Imports		Exports	
	1991	1992	1991	1992
Food & Live Animals	21,936	22,645	30,489	33,793
Crude Materials (except fuels)	13,036	13,968	25,832	25,727
Mineral Fuels, Lubricants, etc.	54,056	55,028	12,287	11,198
Chemicals & Related Products	24,131	27,684	43,428	44,722
Basic Manufactures	57,340	60,371	37,778	38,173
Machinery/Transport Equipment	210,364	231,975	200,089	215,017
Misc. Manufactured Articles	83,332	95,009	46,730	51,276

Source: *Facts on File.* New York, NY: Infobase Holdings Company, 1995.

Questions For Discussion:

1. What are the major imports/exports of each country?
2. How do the trade statistics compare among the three countries?
3. Do you know of any recent controversies revolving around trade between the United States and Japan? the United States and China? China and Japan?

Group Task

Draw two political cartoons. One should depict the trade controversy between the United States and Japan. The issue you should draw about is auto trade. The other should depict the United States and China, illustrating the dispute over the human rights issue and MFN (Most Favored Nation) trading status. Be prepared to present your political cartoons to the class..

FISHERIES

Introduction

The activities of the Fisheries Working Group include the promotion of cooperation to maximize the benefits that members can obtain from their fisheries resources; selection of fish species requiring international resource management; review of activities of international organizations managing marine resources; cooperation in the development of technology to harvest and process marine products; and cooperation in the distribution of marine products, seafood trade, health and quality control for fisheries products, and aquaculture training and development.

Background Information

Read the accompanying news accounts covering some of the issues facing the Fisheries Working Group. Focus on the importance of fisheries and the fishing industry to China, Japan, and the United States. As you read, think about the following questions:

- How does cooperation with Japan benefit China and its fishermen?
- Why is Japan willing to provide assistance to China to develop its fishing industry? What is the United States' interest?
- Why is cooperation among APEC members important for the future of fisheries and the fishing industry?
- What might happen without this cooperation?

Group Task

Divide your group into members of the Fisheries Working Group representing Japan, China, and the United States. Keeping your own country's interests in mind, discuss your answers to the questions above. Plan for your next working group meeting at this time next year. What can your country do in the meantime to promote cooperation with your neighbors? Whose concerns are of most importance? What compromises will your country have to make? What compromises would you encourage your partner countries to make? Be prepared to present your conclusions to the class.

Article #1
January 22, 1994

Fujian to Get Aid from Japanese Fishing Consortium

© The Xinhua News Agency, China

Fujian province, East China, will get free financial aid to the tune of 360 million Japanese yen (3.5 million U.S. dollars) from Japan's Overseas Fishing Cooperation Consortium. The aid will be used to expand the cultivation of abalone and some rare fishes. The assistance package also includes equipment and breeding techniques.

Article #2
June 6, 1995

Biggest Sino-Foreign Fisheries Joint Venture Successful

© The Xinhua News Agency, China

The biggest Sino-foreign joint venture in fisheries is racing to keep up with the ever-growing market demand abroad. The Zhoushan Industrial Company Ltd., based in the island city of Zhoushan in the East China Sea off Zhejiang province, was formed in December last year between the Zhoushan No. 2 Ocean Fisheries Company and the Japanese Maruha Corporation. Lin Jiliang, deputy general manager of the joint venture, said that during the first quarter of this year it exported 15 million U.S. dollars-worth of aquatic products to Japan, accounting for nearly half of the company's total exports last year. He said that 80 percent of the joint venture's catch and processed products such as shredded squid, fish meat sausages and fish slices are exported to Japan. However, recently businessmen from the United States, Spain, New Zealand and Hong Kong have also come to explore opportunities of buying the company's products, he said. "Production can now hardly meet the demand," he said. Zhoushan Industrial Company has a registered capital of 90 million yuan RMB, with Maruha holding a 70-percent stake. Although the Japanese side has five members on the seven-person board of directors, it has only one in the 11-member management team. "This shows that Maruha has complete confidence in our management, and this results from reliable trade relations spanning 16 years," he said. Lin estimated that the company, with more than 3,000 workers, will be able to export 50 million U.S. dollars-worth of products this year. The deputy general manager recalled that when the Zhoushan No. 2 Ocean Fisheries Company was founded in December 1978, it bought from Maruha 11.77 million U.S. dollars-worth of fishing vessels in the form of compensation trade. In August 1985 the state-owned enterprise made a big stride further when it, with help from the Bank of China, founded with Maruha China's first Sino-foreign joint venture in fisheries, the Zhouyang Fisheries Company Ltd. The company now owns 16 vessels, a 500-mu (about 33 ha) prawn farm and a fishing net factory, he said.

Article #3
July 30, 1995

Fight over Fish Stocks Stirs Up Troubled Waters

By Jasper Becker

© 1995 South China Morning Post Ltd.

Fights over diminishing fish stocks in the seas of East Asia is one factor behind the rising diplomatic tensions between China and its neighbors after a huge expansion in the catches by Chinese fishermen.

Taiwan is accused of firing at and killing mainland fishermen while the Philippines is holding Chinese fishermen seized in the disputed Spratlys.

Experts fear that without international cooperation East Asia's marine resources could be wiped out in a few years. Settling marine rights and preparing an international strategy to conserve stocks will be one of the issues discussed in Brunei at the conference reenactment of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

It is a subject which provokes high passions elsewhere. Disputes over fish quotas have bedeviled relations among European Union members, and this year a bitter row erupted between Canada and the European Union.

As in the Atlantic and North Sea, the crisis is partly the result of modern methods. Boats equipped with better technology, nylon nets and drift nets have dramatically increased efficiency.

China's emergence as a major fishing nation since 1979 has also radically changed things. Catches have quadrupled and are still rising by an average eight per cent a year. The value of China's marine exports has increased six times since 1979 and is now worth an annual US$ 2.5 billion (about HK$ 19.32 billion).

China now has more fishermen than any other nation. The Ministry of Agriculture puts the numbers at seven million and claims marine production accounts for six per cent of the mainland's gross domestic product.

"We are now facing a crisis. We have to cut the fishing catch or one day there will be nothing left," said Yang Jian, deputy director of the Agriculture Ministry's fisheries department.

The majority of the boats are privately owned by those who plunged into the business after the 1979 economic reforms. Since then the expansion of the fishing fleet has been unsustainable as fish prices have soared, pushed up by growing demand from Japan, South Korea and the United States.

On Thursday the Guangming Daily reported that sea fishing had become such a "craze" along the coast of the East China Sea that last year alone an extra 1,800 steel-hulled boats were built.

"The year before saw a record catch so people wrongly thought 'more boats means more profits,'" the paper said. So many boats had been built that there was now a shortage of fishermen, and migrant laborers from inland areas were joining the scramble. Even worse, the paper reported 87 percent of the hairtail catch consisted of immature fish.

The search for fresh grounds has driven fishermen to sail close to Taiwan in defiance of warnings where they have been fired on by the Taiwanese Coast Guard.

The freezing of relations after President Lee Teng-hui's private visit to the United States has halted bilateral negotiations over fishing rights.

Stocks in the Gulf of Bohai and the Yellow Sea were the first to be depleted, triggering a search for new fishing grounds. Many boats especially from Hainan Island, home to one of the country's largest fleets, set out for the Spratlys, traditionally fished by Taiwan and the Philippines among others.

The seizure of Chinese boats and fishermen by the Philippine authorities earlier this year has provoked a furious reaction. Mr. Yang's ministry believes the islands' rich resources should be shared. This year China has unilaterally introduced new measures to curb fishing aiming to reduce the overall catch by 100,000 tonnes. Tough penalties are being introduced to curb the use of drift and nylon nets, and to stop the fishing of immature fish.

For the first time this year, the Agriculture Ministry has ordered a halt to fishing in the East China Sea to allow stocks to recover during the summer.

Article #4
April 29, 1995

Tighter Rules Sought for Fishing in Open Sea

© Japan Economic Newswire, Kyodo

A United Nations meeting to be held in late July may agree to tighten controls on fishing in the open sea, despite opposition from Japan and other fishing countries, Japanese officials said Saturday.

The United States, Canada and Latin American countries have called for tighter controls on fishing of tuna and other fish in the open sea to prevent a depletion of stocks and maintain maritime resources.

At the last meeting, held in New York from March 27 to April 12, several countries proposed that nations whose territorial waters are next to public waters should be given rights to inspect fishing boats operating nearby.

Japan, South Korea, China and other fishing countries reacted against the proposal, warning that the measure could lead to possible abuse of such rights.

The meeting, however, noted that it is difficult to maintain the resources only through voluntary controls by fishing countries and that some effective measures are needed.

Japanese officials said discussions at the next meeting, starting July 24, will inevitably center on the issue, with a stronger push by such countries as the U.S.

Such measures would mainly affect Japan's supply of tuna and bonito, they said. Of a total of 1.5 million tons of tuna caught worldwide in 1992, Japan took about 350,000 tons of tuna and imported about 300,000 tons of tuna products.

Japan's catch has remained at the same level in recent years, but the country has been accused of overfishing.

working group #5

MARINE RESOURCE CONSERVATION

Introduction

The Marine Resource Conservation Working Group of APEC is responsible for promoting initiatives to protect marine environment and resources and for ensuring continuing socioeconomic benefits by maintaining the quality of the marine environment. It also develops programs related to red tide/toxic algae and integrated coastal zone management to monitor and control land-based sources of pollution.

Background Information

Several articles regarding the issue of water pollution in the Pacific Ocean, particularly involving the United States, Japan, and China, are listed on the next few pages. Read the articles while keeping the following questions in mind:

- What are the main issues discussed in each article?
- What different points of view are expressed in each article?
- What are some solutions to the pollution problems discussed in the articles?

Group Task

Using the information from the following articles, set up a forum comprised of representatives from the United States, Japan, and China. Have each member of your group represent one country's perspective. Working multilaterally, discuss among your group which environmental protection methods can be implemented to prevent further pollution of the seas while keeping in mind your country's economic interests and investments in the other countries. Be prepared to share your conclusions with the rest of the class.

© SPICE

Article #1
September 9, 1995

China's Power to Harm the Planet

By Elizabeth Economy

© *The New York Times*

China's spectacular economic success has produced an environmental disaster. While the Chinese themselves suffer most from the pollution of their air and water in increasing rates of life-threatening respiratory diseases, the country's rising contribution to global climate change and ozone depletion places other nations at risk, too.

American officials are well versed in these problems but are always preoccupied with other controversies involving China.

But the consequences of China's environmental practices for the United States and the rest of the world have the potential to dwarf the significance of other issues over the long run.

China is now the third largest contributor to global climate changes, after the United States and Russia. By 2050, if current trends continue, China will likely be the leader by far, emitting a projected 40% of the world's carbon dioxide, the most prevalent greenhouse gas. In recent negotiations in Berlin to set targets to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, China led a successful fight against stiffer commitments.

The Chinese also are heavy users of such substances as chlorofluorocarbons in aerosols that deplete the ozone layer. Since 1986, Chinese consumption of these ozone-depleting compounds has soared from 3% to 18% of the world total.

Defenders of China say that global concern about its environmental record is hypocritical: They point out that no one stopped the United States from polluting when it was rapidly industrializing. But environmental experts assert that the United States and other countries adopted tough regulations when air and water pollution began to harm human health and national economies.

China, while adopting an extensive set of environmental laws, has not shown that it is prepared to deal with the problems aggressively.

The country invests a meager 0.7% of its gross national product in environmental protection. Chinese experts have admitted that at least 2% of GNP would be necessary merely to prevent a worsening of water shortages and air pollution.

While reluctant to spend money on global problems, China has sought outside funds and technical assistance. The United States should not succumb to pressure, but it should reinstate China as a member of the U.S.–Asia Environment Partnership, which supports technology transfer in Asia. (China was denied American environmental assistance after the 1989 crackdown in Tiananmen Square.) The United States should also take advantage of the Chinese request for development assistance.

Japan has already made environmental issues a priority in its dealings with Beijing. For example, any new thermal power plant built in China with Japanese money must be equipped with desulfurization technology. The United States can require similar stipulations to agreements with American companies.

If United States officials apply steady pressure, yet avoid open denunciations of China's environmental record, perhaps they can prevent the bitter divisions that have marked most other issues of the two countries' relations.

© SPICE

Article #2
May 22, 1995

Excerpts from an editorial

© *The Nikkei Weekly*, Japan

The question of water, either having too much or not enough, has plagued China in the form of prolonged droughts and severe floods since ancient times. Per-capita water resources in China are less than one-third the world average, and rapid industrialization is further aggravating the situation. For example, waste water discharged from factories in Yanan, Shaanxi Province, killed more than 1 million fish in July 1993 and polluted the city's only source of drinking water. And pollution, mainly from China, has caused catches to dwindle in the Yellow Sea, sparking a dispute with North Korea, South Korea, and Russia, which all fish in the area....

The environmental issues facing China are very serious and profound. How China deals with them will have a significant impact on the world during the first half of the 21st century. Against this background, it is essential for the international community to establish a global system of environmental conservation involving China.

Article #3
February 28, 1995

China-Marine Protection
More Fish Return to Clean Dalian Bay

© The Xinhua News Agency, China

Jellyfish and other sea creatures have been found to have returned to the Dalian Bay in northeast China as local waters have been successfully treated. Water pollution in the Dalian Bay has been effectively put under control following more than a decade's efforts. Dalian port handles more than 30,000 ships a year and over 60 million tons of freight. Water contamination was once so serious that per liter of sea water contained 11.2 milligrams of oil. Since 1983, special efforts have been made to clean the waters. The Dalian Port Supervision Bureau bought three oil-retrieving boats and retrieved some 8,000 tons of oil-contaminated water a year. In addition, more than a dozen laws and regulations on environmental protection were issued, and the number of pollution cases dropped by two-thirds.

Article #4
May 27, 1994

China: Warning of Red Tide Danger

By Jiang Jian
© *Shanghai Star*, China

Red tide, a microbe lethal to aquatic habitats, is threatening the waters at the mouth of the Yangtze River and consequently the fishing industry along the entire East China coast.

A basic index of red tide is the proportion of nitrogen and phosphorous in sea water. The normal standard is 16:1. But presently the index at the mouth of the Yangtze is 80 to 100 times greater than the norm.

Hong Junchao, Director of the Supervision Centre of the East China Sea Branch of the National Bureau of Oceanography, commented that red tide has become a frequent visitor to the mouth of the Yangtze River. He called on the Shanghai government to take action to help solve the problem. Hong said red tide had appeared nine times along the Chinese coast last year, three times the frequency 10 years ago, causing serious damage to fishing and aquaculture in coastal areas from Shandong Province to Fujian Province.

Although scientists have not yet determined all of the factors contributing to red tide, they are certain that it is closely related to and aggravated by the pollution of water. The wanton draining of waste water into ocean and river habitats increases the volume of organic matter which in turn causes the rampant growth of marine microbes. These microbes, which tend to turn water red when they mature, deplete available oxygen and cause the massive deaths of marine creatures such as fish, shrimp, crabs, and shellfish. Red tide can also infect marine products and be lethal to humans in some circumstances. Hepatitis outbreaks have been linked to red tide blooms.

Hong said that although the mouth of the Yangtze River had not yet been seriously damaged by red tides, the risk is much greater today. Shanghai has 10,700 hectares of beach used for aquaculture. Once red tide poisons aquaculture products, the losses are enormous.

Hong suggested the city set up a monitoring system as soon as possible to closely follow the development of red tides. Meanwhile, the government should work out an emergency plan to deal with the encroachment of red tide. But above all, Hong said the government should strictly control the draining of industrial waste water.

ENERGY COOPERATION

Introduction

The Regional Energy Cooperation Working Group was established to maximize the energy sector's contribution to the region's economic development, while safeguarding the environment. It is divided into four experts groups: energy supply and demand, energy and the environment, energy conservation and efficiency, and technology cooperation.

Background Information

China's Three Gorges Dam is one of the world's largest hydro-electric projects, and when completed will provide electricity for millions of people in China's Yangtze River region. The project has drawn interest from businesses worldwide that want to contribute to the dam's construction. Some foreign governments, however, have concerns about the damage the dam may cause to the environment and the problems it will cause for the people living in the area who will have to move.

Below are three news accounts, representing some views from China, Japan, and the United States about the Three Gorges Dam project. As you read the articles, think about these questions:

- What benefits will China get from building the dam?
- What problems could the dam's construction cause?
- Do the benefits outweigh the costs?
- What interest does Japan have in the project?
- How can Japanese assistance to the project benefit China?
- What concerns does the United States government have about the dam?
- Do the U.S. government's interests match the interests of U.S. businesses?

Group Task

After discussing the following articles, assign student roles as follows: One student should represent the Three Gorges Dam management; another should represent environmental groups and human rights organizations; a third should represent U.S. businesspeople; and a fourth should represent the U.S. president. The task of the first three students will be to advise the U.S. president on whether or not to allow U.S. businesses to participate in the construction of the Three Gorges Dam. How will each of you advise the president? The president should decide upon a course of action. For the class presentation, be prepared to explain the president's decision and the arguments made by each group.

Article #1
December 10, 1994

First Relocated Family in Three Gorges Area

By Tang Weibin and Yan Wenbin

© 1994 The Xinhua News Agency, China

Tan Dexun, 73, had mixed feelings when he moved together with 15 other members of his family from a house with earthen walls and tile-covered roofs in the Three Gorges area on the middle reaches of the Yangtze River. On the day before he moved out, he walked again and again around his house where he had lived for 40 years, gazing at everything he was so familiar with. On the third day after he moved out, he returned again to his old home, he saw that his house had already been leveled by a bulldozer. But he said: "The government has decided to build a huge dam in the Three Gorges area to benefit us and future generations. So, we should not delay the project."

Tan, a short man with wrinkles all over his face in Guidian Village, Maoping Town, Yichang City in central China's Hubei Province, is one of the one million people on the middle reaches of the Yangtze River who will be relocated. The relocation program will pave the way for the construction of the Three Gorges Dam, one of the largest hydropower projects in the world.

Tan has become a newsmaker because his family is the first in the dam area to move out. He left his old house in December 1992 for a new village, where row upon row of new two-story houses were specially built by evacuees with government assistance. His family now lives in four houses. In Tan's bedroom are new furniture, a color TV set and an electric cooker in addition to other things. His family—including his four sons and daughters-in-law, and grandchildren—used to live in a seven-room house, farming about one hectare of cropland.

They led a poor but tranquil life. As preparatory work for the Three Gorges Dam started at the end of 1992, his family had to move to a makeshift house built by the government.

All his four sons became involved in the construction project shortly after preparatory work started. His eldest son did odd jobs on a construction site. His second son made prefabricated cement pieces together with fellow villagers. His third son bought a tractor for 7,000 yuan to carry loads for a construction site, and his youngest son serviced machinery. In June 1993 they jointly built four two-story houses using money they had earned and 60,000 yuan given them by the government in relocation funds.

Tan's special status has brought groups of Chinese and foreign reporters to interview him. That is why he is now called "resettler star" by his fellow villagers. For the first time in his life he met a foreigner, a French correspondent, in April 1994. Later, he talked to reporters from Germany, Japan, Russia and the United States. With his living standards improving steadily, Tan Dexun feels that he is dreaming. Yet he still often remembers that large yard in front of his old house. There his family used to rest, enjoying the coolness of summer nights. But now, whenever he opens the door, he sees a busy road and can no longer enjoy his past easy-going lifestyle. Even so, he quoted a Chinese saying to summarize changes in his life: "A person always seeks a better life, just as a river always flows to a lower place."

Article #2
October 25, 1995

White House Policy Switch on China's Three Gorges Project

By Lani Cossette; *The Yomiuri Shimbun* Washington Bureau

© 1995 *The Daily Yomiuri*, Japan

In an unusual policy switch, the White House is now backing environmentalists and human rights advocates in arguing against funding of China's colossal Three Gorges Dam project, according to White House memos obtained by The Yomiuri Shimbun.

The policy change may complicate relations with China in the future since it exposes the Clinton administration's biggest grievances with the Chinese government of human rights and environmental abuses. With the shift, the United States appears to be setting aside its export promotion policy to focus on political concerns—an about-face since its decision in May 1994 to extend Most Favored Nation status to China by separating human rights from commercial interests.

Acknowledging potential repercussions from the move, the memo states: "The U.S. government should refrain from publicly condemning the Three Gorges project. Such condemnation would unduly strain bilateral relations."

The National Security Council's conclusions on Three Gorges project come at a critical time in U.S.-China bilateral relations.

The council convened to tackle the subject a little more than a year ago and was to deliver an initial report to Clinton in September 1994. But the final decision was made only recently. One government official suggested the final stand on Three Gorges may have been purposely delayed for the last six months.

A report written by Human Rights Watch/Asia and submitted to the National Security Council—upon the council's request—in February 1995 was a critical factor in the panel's final decision. The report featured internal Chinese documents prepared for Chinese security authorities on ways to step-up security measures in the event of social upheaval.

China's Three Gorges Dam, estimated to cost around $25 billion, is seen as a symbolic measure of the country's might. If the project fails, it could result in an environmental, financial, and political catastrophe. Construction of the dam will require the resettlement of more than 1 million people in the region.

© SPICE

Article #3
October 25, 1995

Toshiba Confirms Joint Japanese Bid for China's Three Gorges Project

© 1995 Agence France Presse

Toshiba Corporation confirmed Wednesday that it would bid jointly with three other Japanese rivals in the power equipment sector to supply equipment to China's giant Three Gorges dam project.

A company spokesman said executives from Toshiba along with Hitachi Ltd., Corp., Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd. and Mitsubishi Electric Corp. held a seminar on the project in Beijing earlier this week.

He said the government-owned Export-Import Bank of Japan also attended the seminar along with officials from Japan's international trade and industry ministry, which arranges trade insurance for Japanese projects overseas.

The four Japanese companies, which have previously bid independently on international tenders, are competing to supply 26 units of 700-megawatt generators, the Toshiba spokesman said.

"It's a fairly large-scale dam and there are many European and U.S. manufacturers which are strong, so we believe by combining our technology, name and sales strength we can improve the possibility to win orders," he said.

The Nihon Keizai Shimbun reported from Beijing Wednesday that the first international tenders for the equipment were expected around mid-1996.

Foreign companies expected to bid for the Chinese project include General Electric Co. of the United States and Swedish-Swiss engineering giant ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd., the newspaper said.

The Three Gorges dam, under construction on the middle reaches of the Yangtze River, is estimated to cost 234 billion yuan (28 billion dollars).

INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Introduction

The goal of the Industrial Science and Technology Working Group is to promote economic growth through the expansion of investment and technology transfer. Projects have included considering an electronic network for information on investment and technology transfer; organizing industrial technology seminars; promoting the exchange of views; preparing reports on industrial technology; compiling industrial technology indices; surveying and analyzing policies that promote innovation; and organizing the APEC Technomart, to facilitate technology transfer and to promote information flows of industrial science and technology among members.

Background Information

Information about the APEC Technomart is included in the article listed below. Read through the article and discuss your group task.

Group Task

Divide up into groups representing a Chinese company interested in buying technology, and two companies, one American and one Japanese, that want to sell technology to China. Think about China's development needs: agriculture, industry, communications, etc. For the Chinese buyer, what kind of technology would you be interested in purchasing? Think of an ideal product. You can only buy one.

For the Japanese and American sellers, what technology products would you offer to a Chinese buyer? Once you have decided on a product, think of a way to convince the Chinese buyers to purchase your product. They can only purchase one product, and you must convince them to buy either the Japanese or the American product.

The goal of the group is for the Chinese buyer to choose either the American or Japanese product based on its potential to contribute to China's economic growth and technological development. Be prepared to present the product and reasons for choosing it to the class.

© SPICE

Article
June 1, 1995

APEC's First Technomart Kicks Off with 170 Participating Companies

© Korea Economic Daily

The "1st APEC (Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation) Technomart" was held at the Taejon Exhibition Center in Taejon from May 22 to 27.

More than 170 companies from 13 Asia Pacific rim countries participated and presented a total 390 technologies in the regional technology trade mart: A total of 44 domestic firms sent 153 technologies to the exhibition show in such areas as information/telecommunications and others; 134 foreign concerns submitted 237 up-to-date technologies related with electronic control, environment and energy.

Over 3,000 business negotiations took place during the final three days of the six-day event, while participants exhibited their technologies.

With the theme of "Realization of Open Technology Cooperation in the 21st Century," the million dollar-invested event was designed to establish a new basis for active exchanges and cooperation of technology and information between developed and underdeveloped countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Technomart event idea was initiated by Korea during the APEC ministerial conference which was held in Seattle in November, 1993, and obtained the recognition of APEC membership countries in February, 1994.

TRANSPORTATION

Introduction

The Transportation Working Group of APEC studies ways to improve infrastructure and to facilitate movement of passengers and freight. It is responsible for conducting a survey of transportation systems and data, electronic data interchange, and transportation bottlenecks. It also conducts a study of a database for transportation technology.

Background Information

In this activity, your group will study some major transportation systems of Japan and China. You will also examine some statistics on transportation.

Group Task

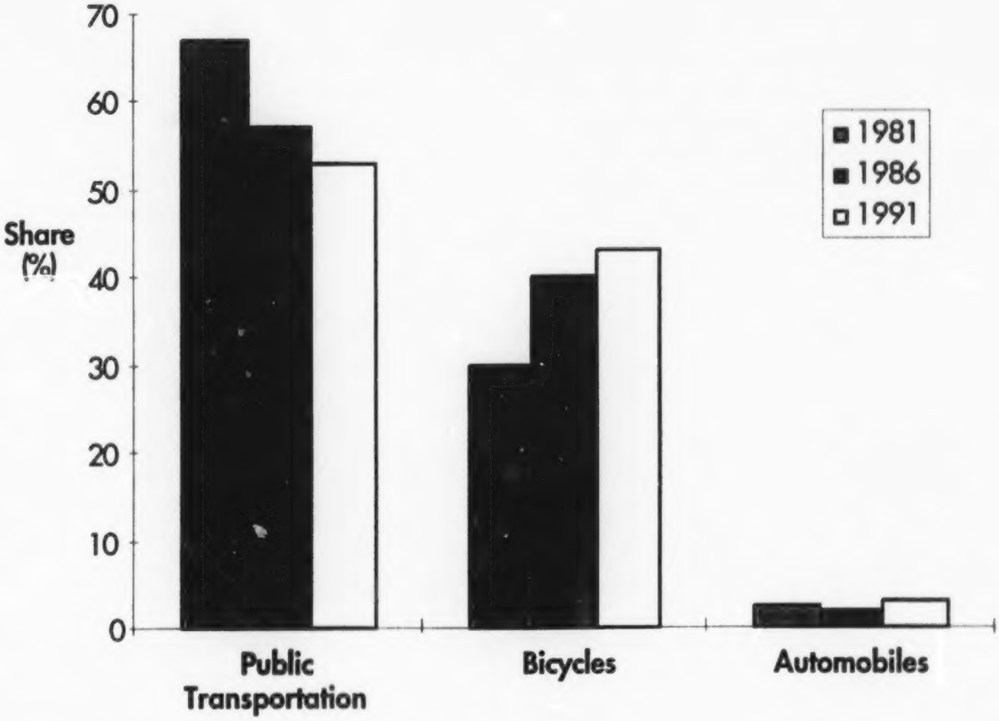
Study the statistics as outlined in the following graphs. Keep in mind the following questions as you study the information:

1. What can you infer from the first graph showing the various modes of transportation in Japan and China?
2. Why do you think the number of people using cars as a method of transportation is so low in Shanghai? Why are bicycles so readily used in Shanghai?
3. Why do you think the number of Japanese workers commuting by train and subway is so high?

Be prepared to share a summary of your analysis with the rest of the class.

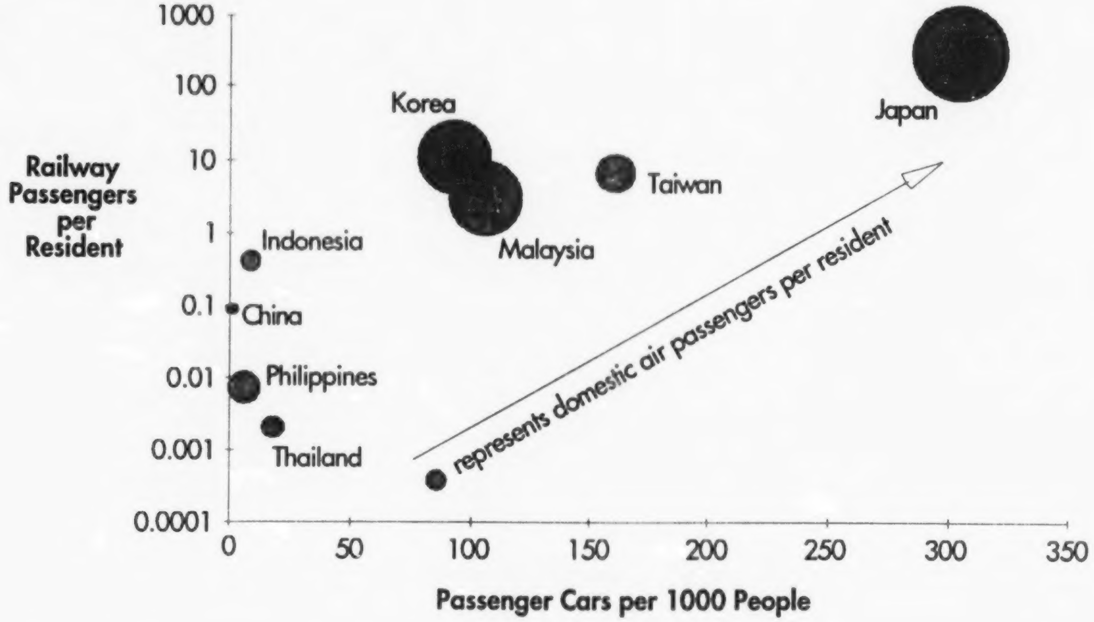
© SPICE

MODE OF TRANSPORT DEVELOPMENT: ASIAN COUNTRIES



Source: Cheung, Kim S. "Asia-Pacific Transport Development." Boeing Commercial Airplane Group, Seattle.

USE OF TRANSPORT BY SHANGHAI RESIDENTS



Source: Cheung, Kim S. "Asia-Pacific Transport Development." Boeing Commercial Airplane Group, Seattle.

© SPICE

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

Note: This activity requires access to the World Wide Web.

Introduction

The Telecommunications Working Group exchanges information, consults on policy and regulatory developments and standards, and develops projects aimed at fostering improved regional telecommunications infrastructure. Other activities include collection of information on telecommunications, promotion of electronic data interchange, study of manuals on infrastructure development, and the fostering of human resources in the telecommunications sector.

Background Information

One of the Telecommunications Working Group's activities is the promotion of electronic data interchange. In fact, APEC has used electronic means to provide information about its organization and activities by creating a World Wide Web home page.

Group Task

The task for your group is to find the answers to as many of the questions below from the information provided on the APEC official home page. The address is http://apec.tokio.co.jp/

Questions:

Who can join APEC?
When did China become a member of APEC?
When was the first APEC meeting?
Where was the first APEC Ministerial Meeting held?
What were the four areas of discussion at the first APEC Ministerial Meeting?
What is the APEC foundation for success?
What are China's principal exports to Japan?
What countries does China import goods from?
What are Japan's principal imports from the United States?
What are China's major industries?
What are some of Japan's major industries?
How often are APEC Ministerial Meetings held?
What was the goal of the Bogor Declaration?
When was the idea of an Asia-Pacific Free Trade Area first advanced?
What is the cornerstone of China's relations with other countries?
What is the nature of Sino-Japanese relations?
Who first proposed the Partners for Progress?
What is China's first development priority?
Where is the APEC Secretariat?
Who are the United States' principal trading partners?
What percentage of world trade do APEC countries represent?
What percentage of the world's population do APEC countries represent?

transparency

U.S.–JAPAN POLICY DIALOGUE ON CHINA

Global political relations are in a state of unprecedented flux. The "new world order" is frequently evoked, but in reality it does not yet exist. Old alliances and relationships have ended or are in the process of being transformed, sometimes under great pressure. State-to-state relations in Asia and elsewhere must be redefined as interdependence steadily grows, breaking down the firm national boundaries of the past. Under these circumstances, increased communication between and among nations and new or strengthened international institutions are essential.

In this setting, the U.S.–Japan relationship has become more crucial than ever. In every sense—economic, political, and strategic—our two nations are intertwined. Yet tensions have grown, the citizens of each country have become more critical of the other, and the available mechanisms for dialogue and decision-making have not sufficed to resolve a number of problems.

Among many political issues that should be discussed between us, few if any are more important than those relating to China. In the past, China has not infrequently evoked different interpretations and policies from the United States and Japan. Such differences have once again appeared in the aftermath of the Tiananmen crackdown in 1989.

In part, these differences reflect variation in geography. China is a near, and big, neighbor of Japan; it is more distant and looms less large for the United States. In part, they reflect dissimilar economic relations with China at present. There are also historical, cultural, and political factors to be considered. Given these facts, it is all the more urgent that we discuss in an open and frank manner our views, with respect to both political trends within China and the thrust of our respective policies, including their anticipated results. (The Asia Society, *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*, p. v.)

© SPICE

APPENDIX

REFERENCES

Introduction

The Asia Society. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Economic Issues*. New York, NY: The Asia Society, 1992.

The Asia Society. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*. New York, NY: The Asia Society, 1992.

The Asia Society. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Security Issues*. New York, NY: The Asia Society, 1993.

Lesson One

The Asia Society. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*. New York, NY: The Asia Society, 1992.

The Asia Society. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Security Issues*. New York, NY: The Asia Society, 1993.

Awanohara, Susumu. "A Clash of Nationalisms: Sino-Japanese Relations Enter a Precarious Stage." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 8, 1987.

Awanohara, Susumu. "Learning From History." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 8, 1987.

China News Digest (CND), 1994-1995—an electronic mail resource: www.cnd.org

"Japan, China Pledge 'Cooperative Contributions' Toward Peace." *Japan Now*, June, 1995.

"The Japan That Cannot Say Sorry." *The Economist*, August 12, 1995.

"Japan's War Memories Selective: All Textbooks Give Students Only Sanitized View of WWII." *The Columbus Dispatch*, August 20, 1995.

Lesson Two

The Asia Society. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*. New York, NY: The Asia Society, 1992.

Chen, Kathy. "China's Communists Stand at a Crossroads: Aging Deng, Ailing Ideology Fuel Debate Over Direction." *Wall Street Journal*, October 13, 1994.

China News Digest (CND), 1994-1995—an electronic mail resource.

Curtis, Gerald L. *The United States, Japan, and Asia*. New York, NY: Norton, 1994.

Davis, Deborah, and Stevan Harrell, eds. *Chinese Families in the Post Mao Era*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993.

Davis, Deborah, and Ezra F. Vogel. *Chinese Society on the Eve of Tiananmen: The Impact of Reform*. Cambridge, MA: Council of East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1990.

Frolic, Michael. *Mao's People: Sixteen Portraits of Life in Revolutionary China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.

Hsu, Immanual. *China Without Mao: The Search for a New Order*, 2nd ed. New York, NY: Oxford University, 1982.

references

Kristof, Nicholas D. "Far From Beijing, Good Life Is Goal." *The New York Times*, International Edition, November 14, 1989.

Link, Perry. *Evening Chats in Beijing: Probing China's Predicament*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1992.

Meisner, Maurice. *Mao's China and After: A History of the People's Republic*. New York, NY: Free Press, 1986.

Potter, Jack M., and Sulamith Heins. *China's Peasants: The Anthropology of a Revolution*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Schell, Orville. "Twilight of the Titan: China–The End of an Era." *The Nation*, July 17-24, 1995.

Spence, Jonathan. *The Search for Modern China*. New York, NY: Norton, 1990.

Stacey, Judith. *Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983.

Tempest, Rone. "Get Rich and Succeed, Chinese Party Urges." *Los Angeles Times*, November 17, 1993.

Tyson, Ann Scott, and James L. "China's Villages: Surplus Workers on the Move," and "Long Days, Hard Labor for Women Left on the Farm." *The Christian Science Monitor*, August 5, 1992.

Tyson, Ann Scott, and James L. "China's Villages: A Quiet Revolution: Chinese Reforms Widen Gap Between Coast and Hinterland," and "China's Remotest Regions Slip Deeper into Poverty." *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 22, 1992.

Wolf, Margery. *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985.

WuDunn, Sheryl. "China Sells Off Public Land to the Well-Connected." *The New York Times*, International Edition, May 8, 1993.

WuDunn, Sheryl. "China's Peasantry Takes Measure of Its Prosperity" *The New York Times*, International Edition, July 4, 1993.

WuDunn, Sheryl. "China Sees Key to Future In New 'Market-Socialism" *The New York Times*, September 6, 1993.

Xie Hong. "The Changing Role and Status of Women in China." The 1990 Institute, Issue Paper: No. 8, February, 1994.

Young, Helen. "Voices of Women on the Long March." working paper, Stanford University.

Lesson Three

The Asia Society. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Economic Issues*. New York, NY: The Asia Society, 1991.

Brauchli, Marcus W. and Joseph Kahn. "Workers in New China Often Find Hardship Tied to Opportunity." *The Wall Street Journal*, May 19, 1994.

Chan, J. C. M. "Costs of Production in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone of China." *Engineering Costs & Production Economics*, vol. 14, No. 3., September, 1988.

Chan, J. C. M. "Labour Relations and the Foreign Investor in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone of China." *Journal of General Management*, vol. 14, no. 4, Summer, 1989.

Cheng, Elizabeth. "China's Changing Tide: Coastal Cities Rush to Offer Land After Peking Policy Shift." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, vol. 148. no. 26, June 28, 1990.

Fiddes, Kate. "Distribution: The Ultimate Market Testing Ground." *Chinese Business Review*, December 8, 1994.

Gaston Sigur Center at George Washington University. unpublished papers presented at a workshop, Beijing, October 14–16, 1994.

Goozner, Merrill and Uli Schmetzer, "Fire Injuries Turn China into Labor Disaster." *The Seattle Times*, November 20, 1994.

Goozner, Merrill and Uli Schmetzer. "Labor Fights in Asia," *The Seattle Times*, November 20, 1994.

Huus, Kari. "Gridlock Anyone?" *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Nov. 10, 1994.

Newcomb, Amelia. "U.S. Seeks Code Of Conduct for China." *The Daily Yomiuri*, August 16, 1994.

Nike, Inc. Annual Report. "To our Shareholders." 1993, 1994.

Reinganum, Julie and Tina Helsell. "To Market, to Market," *The Chinese Business Review*, vol. 21, no. 1, January, 1994.

Silk, Mitchell A. "Cracking Down on Economic Crime." *The China Business Review*, May-June, 1994.

Stevenson-Yang, Anne. "Labor Laments," *The China Business Review*, May-June, 1994.

Tyler, Patrick E. "The Dynamic New China Still Races Against Time." *The New York Times*, January 2, 1994.

Daily excerpts from the China News Digest (CND), 1994-1995—an electronic mail resource.

Lesson Four

The Asia Society. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Economic Issues*. New York, NY: The Asia Society, 1992.

The Asia Society. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*. New York, NY: The Asia Society, 1992.

The American Heritage Electronic Dictionary. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990.

Centre for Human Rights, Geneva. *Teaching Human Rights: Practical Activities for Primary and Secondary Schools*. New York: United Nations, 1989.

Department of State. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1994*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1995.

Georges, Kathi and Jennifer Joseph, ed. *The Verdict Is In*. San Francisco: Manic D Press, 1992.

Han, Minzhu and Hua, Sheng, ed. *Cries for Democracy: Writings and Speeches from the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Han, Theodore and John Li. *Tiananmen Square Spring 1989: A Chronology of the Chinese Democracy Movement*. Berkeley: The Regents of the University of California, 1992.

Hookham, Hilda. *A Short History of China*. New York: Longman Group Limited, 1972.

references

The Information Office of the State Council. "A Report Which Distorts Facts and Confuses Right and Wrong." *Beijing Review*, March 13-19, 1995.

Lesson Five

Calder, Kent E., Gerrit W. Gong, and Kaoru Okuizumi, eds. *The U.S.–Japan Economic Relationship in East and Southeast Asia: A Policy Framework for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation*. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1992.

Cheng, Tun-jen, Chi Huang, and Samuel S. G. Wu, eds. *Inherited Rivalry: Conflict Across the Taiwan Straits*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1995.

Gaston Sigur Center at George Washington University. unpublished papers presented at a workshop, Tokyo, April 17–18, 1994.

Heinzig, Dieter. *Disputed Islands in the South China Sea: Paracels–Spratleys–Pratas–Macclesfield Bank*. Hamburg, Germany: Institute of Asian Affairs in Hamburg, 1976.

Hill, R. D., Norman G. Owen, and E. V. Roberts, eds. *Fishing in Troubled Waters: Proceedings of an Academic Conference on Territorial Claims in the South China Sea.* Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1991.

Kim, Young C., and Gaston J. Sigur, eds. *Japanese and U.S. Policy in Asia*. New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1982.

O'Brien, Roderick. *South China Sea Oil: Two Problems of Ownership and Development*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Occasional Paper no. 47, August, 1977.

Samuels, Marwyn S. *Contest for the South China Sea*. New York, NY: Methuen & Co., 1982.

China's View

Alabastro, Ruben. "China Rebuke Raises Temperature in South China Sea." Reuters World Service, May 16, 1995.

"China Sending Signals of Possible Compromise on Spratlys." Agence France Presse, July 7, 1995.

"China's Syndrome: Ambiguity: What Seizing a Tiny Reef Says About Beijing's Soul" *The Washington Post*, March 19, 1995.

Mann, Jim. "U.S. Starting to View China as Potential Enemy." *Los Angeles Times*, April 16, 1995.

Rong, Wang. "China: South China Sea Oil Tonnage Sets Record." *China Daily*, January 7, 1995.

Schmetzer, Uli. "Reefs in the China Sea Could Spark an Asian Battle; Six Nations Vie for Reputedly Oil-Rich Spratly Islands." *Chicago Tribune*, April 11, 1995.

"South China Seas; China Reiterates Policy of Peaceful Settlement of Spratlys Dispute." The British Broadcasting Corporation, February 2, 1995. Source: Zhongguo Xinwen She News Agency, Beijing.

The United States' View

Chandra, Rajiv. "China-Philippines: Crucial Talks to Ease Tension Over Spratlys." Inter Press Service, March 17, 1995.

"China's Syndrome: Ambiguity; What Seizing a Tiny Reef Says About Beijing's Soul." *The Washington Post*, March 19, 1995.

Mann, Jim. "U.S. Starting to View China as Potential Enemy." *Los Angeles Times*, April 16, 1995.

Richardson, Michael. "U.S. to Keep Asian Troop Level Stable; For Present Analysts Say Pressures of Budget Could Force Cuts Below 100,000." *International Herald Tribune*, February 28, 1995.

Richardson, Michael. "China's Neighbors Aim For a 'Litmus Test' on Spratlys." *International Herald Tribune*, May 13, 1995.

Sharma, Yojana. "Asia: Shook Up Over Sino-Vietnamese Spratlys Handshake." Inter Press Service, November 26, 1994.

Son, Johanna. "Southeast Asia: China Gets Stern Warning on Spratlys." Inter Press Service, May 2, 1995.

Son, Johanna. "Asia: China Hits Efforts to Internationalize Spratly Row." Inter Press Service, May 12, 1995.

Suryodipuro, Arto. "Indonesian Strategy in Dispute With China Over Natuna Islands Outlined." *Kompas*, May 22, 1995.

"U.S. Stresses Freedom of Navigation in South China Sea." Agence France Presse, May 17, 1995.

Japan's View

Chandra, Rajiv. "China-Philippines: Crucial Talks to Ease Tension Over Spratlys." Inter Press Service, March 17, 1995.

"Disputes; Islands of Discord; Manila and Beijing Square Off in a Spat Over the Spratlys." *Asiaweek*, February 24, 1995.

"Japan May Announce China Aid Cut On Monday." Reuters World Service, May 15, 1995.

"Japanese Premier Visits Key Symbol of Wartime Aggression." Agence France Presse, May 3, 1995.

Sharma, Yojana. "Asia: Shook Up Over Sino-Vietnamese Spratlys Handshake." Inter Press Service, November 26, 1994.

Takagi, Hisao. "China Claim for Isles Riles Japan: Beijing Fuels Row Over Senkaku Group by Passing Sovereignty Laws." *The Nikkei Weekly*, March 7, 1992.

Indonesia's View

"The Political Scene: Assertiveness in the South China Sea." Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Report, June 6, 1995.

Suryodipuro, Arto. "Indonesian Strategy in Dispute With China Over Natuna Islands Outlined." *Kompas*, May 22, 1995.

Brunei's View

Alabastro, Ruben. "Manila Alleges Chinese 'Duplicity' in Spratlys." Reuters World Service, April 10, 1995.

"ARF Officials Disagree Over Forum's Future Role." Japan Economic Newswire, May 23, 1995.

"ASEAN Security Forum Proposal Meets Favorable Response." Kyodo News Service, Japan Economic Newswire, May 22, 1995.

"Precedent Set to Discuss Spratlys Multilaterally." *The Straits Times*, May 26, 1995.

references

Malaysia's View

Cloughley, Brian. "No Need for War in South China Sea." *International Defense Review*, June 1, 1995.

"Malaysia to Beef Up Navy, Says Defense Chief." Kyodo News Service, Japan Economic Newswire, July 21, 1992.

"Malaysia Hopes for Peaceful End to Spratlys Claims." Reuters World Service, March 29, 1995.

"Malaysia Claims Sovereignty Over Island in Spratlys." Agence France Presse, May 26, 1995.

Son, Johanna. "Southeast Asia: China Gets Stern Warning on Spratlys." Inter Press Service, May 2, 1995.

Philippine's View

Cloughley, Brian. "No Need for War in South China Sea." *International Defense Review*, June 1, 1995.

"Disputes; Islands of Discord; Manila and Beijing Square Off in a Spat Over the Spratlys." *Asiaweek*, February 24, 1995.

"The Political Scene: Assertiveness in the South China Sea." Economist Intelligence Unit, Country Report, June 6, 1995.

Son, Johanna. "Asia: China Hits Efforts to Internationalize Spratly Row." Inter Press Service, May 12, 1995.

Taiwan's View

"China Reaction Could Lead to Disengagement With U.S." Kyodo News Service, Japan Economic Newswire, May 24, 1995.

Goozner, Merrill. "Taiwanese Spending Spree May Include Submarines." *Chicago Tribune*, June 12, 1995.

McBeth. "Oil-Rich Diet." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, April 27, 1995.

Sharma, Yojana. "Asia: Shook Up Over Sino-Vietnamese Spratlys Handshake." Inter Press Service, November 26, 1994.

"Taiwan Cancels Plan to Send Boats to Spratlys." Kyodo News Service, Japan Economic Newswire, April 2, 1995.

"Taiwan, China Explore For Oil, Agency Says." *The Reuter Business Report*, April 23, 1995.

Vietnam's View

"China: Conflict Still Likely in the Spratlys." *Bangkok Post*, January 8, 1995.

"Vietnam Rejects Taiwan Claim to Spratlys." Reuters World Service, May 17, 1995.

"Vietnam Beefs Up Air Power With Six Russian Planes." *Business Times*, June 16, 1995.

Lesson Six

The Asia Society. *U.S.–Japan Policy Dialogue on China: Political Issues*. New York, NY: The Asia Society, 1992.

Gaston Sigur Center at George Washington University. unpublished papers presented at a workshop, Tokyo, April 17–18, 1994.

references

Working Group #1

Desruisseaux, Paul. "Foreign Influx Slows." *The Chronicle of Higher Education.* November 10, 1995.

UNESCO. *1994 UNESCO Statistical Yearbook.* Paris, France: UNESCO, 1994.

Working Group #2

The Europa World Yearbook. Volumes I and II. England: Europa Publications, Ltd., 1995.

Working Group #3

Facts on File. New York, New York: Infobase Holdings Company, May 16-31, 1995.

Facts on File. 1995-96 High School Debate Issue (volume 26), New York, New York: Infobase Holdings Company, 1995.

The Europa World Yearbook. Volumes I and II. England: Europa Publications, Ltd. 1995.

Working Group #4

Becker, Jasper. "Fight Over Fish Stocks Stirs Up Troubled Waters." *South China Morning Post*, Ltd., July 30, 1995

"Biggest Sino-Foreign Fisheries Joint Venture Successful." Xinhua News Agency, June 6, 1995.

"Fujian to Get Aid from Japanese Fishing Consortium." Xinhua News Agency, January 22, 1994.

"Tighter Rules Sought for Fishing in Open Sea." Japan Economic Newswire, Kyodo, April 29, 1995.

Working Group #5

"China-Marine Protection More Fish Return to Clean Dalian Bay." The Xinhua News Agency, February 28, 1995.

Excerpts from an editorial in *The Nikkei Weekly*, May 22, 1995.

Economy, Elizabeth. "China's Power to Harm the Planet." *The New York Times*, September 9, 1995.

Jian, Jiang. "China: Warning of Red Tide Danger." *Shanghai Star*, May 27, 1994.

Working Group #6

Cossette, Lani. "White House Policy Switch on China's Three Gorges Project." *The Yomiuri Shimbun*, October 25, 1995.

"First Relocated Family In Three Gorges Area." Xinhua News Agency, December 10, 1994.

"Toshiba Confirms Joint Japanese Bid for China's Three Gorges Project." Agence France Presse, October 25, 1995.

Working Group #7

"APEC's First Technomart Kicks Off With 170 Participating Companies." *Korea Economic Daily*, June 1, 1995.

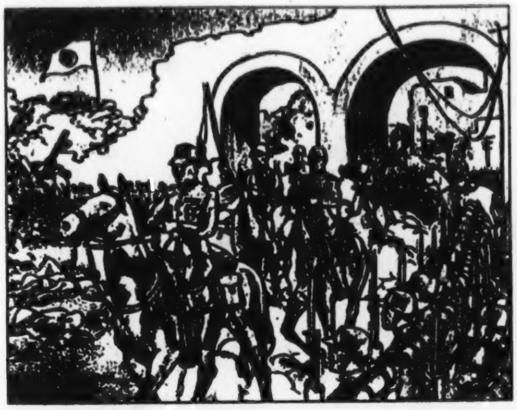
Working Group #8

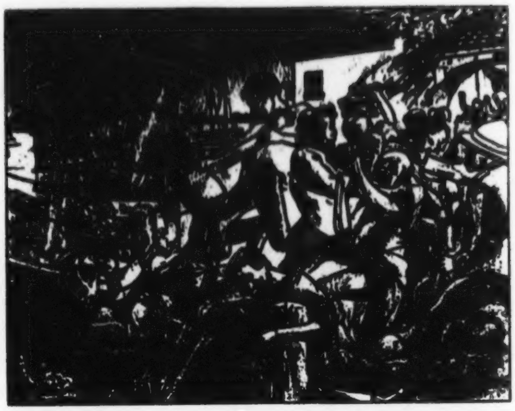
Cheung, Kim S. "Asia-Pacific Transport Development." Boeing Commercial Airplane Group, Seattle. working paper, presented to the Asia/Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, March 17, 1995.

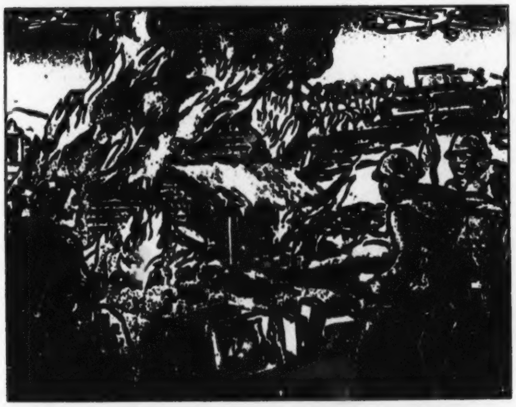
references

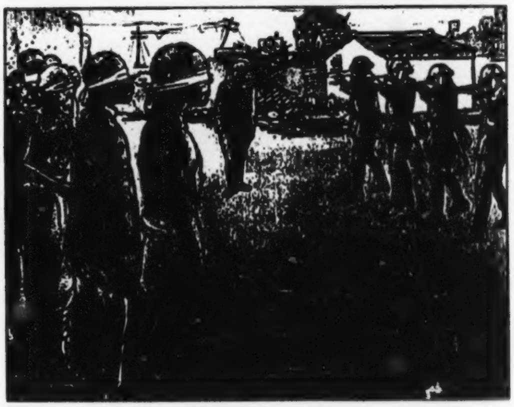
Working Group #9
APEC Official Home Page. Address: http://apec.tokio.co.jp/

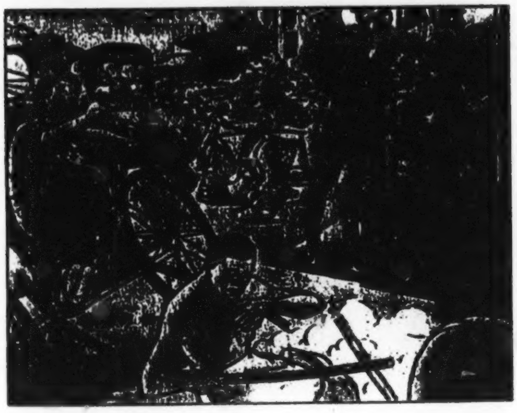
© SPICE

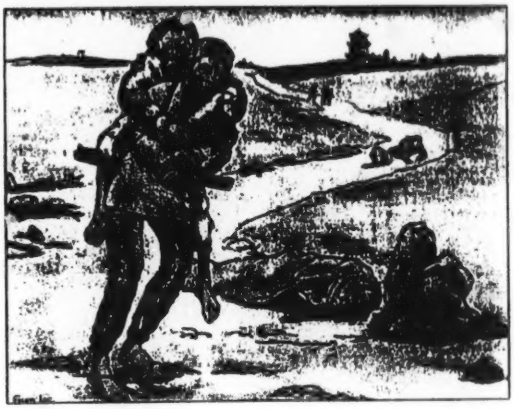












BEST COPY AVAILABLE

78

River Gate is Death Trap for Chinese in Rout

As the Japanese net tightened on Nanking on December 12, 1937, Chinese soldiers went crazy with fear. All knew that to be found in possession of a uniform or a gun meant death. Uniforms were discarded as the retreating soldiers ran through the city, and rifles were broken up and thrown away. The narrow opening through the river-gate sandbag barricade loomed as the only means of escape. It turned out to be a death trap for many! In the mad rush some stumbled and fell under the pounding feet of the milling crowd. Others were shot down by cursing comrades. Guards attempting to stem the tide set fire to the superstructure of the gate, but the frenzied soldiers pushed through the flames undaunted. At the river, junks, sampans, launches were pressed into service. Many men were drowned in the feverish manning of boats. Others attempting to swim across to Pukow were swept away on the tide.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of a series of 240 True Stories of Modern Warfare. Save to get them all. Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa.

REPRINT

146

Chinese Terrorists Meet Death in Nanking

Although the ancient city of Nanking had come under Japanese control in December, 1937, this former capital of China was far from peaceful. Soon encouraged by the success of Chinese armies in the north, Chinese terrorists in Nanking, and in other Japanese-controlled cities, resumed their sniping at the conquerors. The early morning was the favorite time for these Chinese patriots to throw a grenade or fire a pistol, then to scurry for their lives. If caught they were flung face down in the street and searched for weapons. Then they were lined up in front of the nearest wall to meet death before a firing squad of Japanese troops. The picture shows a group of these Jap-haters in line awaiting death. Their emaciation shows the shortage of food. But life has always been hard for the Chinese peasant and he meets his death with fortitude.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of 240 True Stories of Modern Warfare. Save to get them all and compete for 1000 Cash Prizes. Ask your dealer. Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa. Printed in U. S. A.

REPRINT

201

Farmers of Famine

In the broad farm area between Shanghai and Nanking, most of the farmers have fled in the pathway of warring armies, and most of the land lies barren and untilled. The "scorched earth" policy, introduced by the Chinese to make it impossible for advancing Japanese armies to subsist off the soil, has exchanged places with the once energetic Chinese farmers, who grew grain that they and their fellows might live, and a terrible food shortage is the result. Spring . . . when the rice fields of China should be bursting forth in a riot of green, and the fertile farmlands should be providing nourishment for the teeming millions . . . will extend slim promise for 1938. It takes but three cents a day to sustain a Chinese, but members of the war area farming class are not able to raise even that. The picture shows a pitiable group of enfeebled farm folk struggling to reach Shanghai,—and food. The man in the foreground carries his aged father. Others have fallen down, never to rise again.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of 240 True Stories of Modern Warfare. Save to get them all and compete for 1000 Cash Prizes. Ask your dealer. Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa. Printed in U. S. A.

REPRINT

79

Japan's Triumphal Entry into Nanking

After the rout of the Chinese armies at Nanking Japanese occupation of the city became a horrible reality for the remaining citizens. On December 13, 1937, Tokio announced the capture of the ancient capital and made plans for a new autonomous government at this city. Several days later, on December 17, Japan's highest army and navy officers in this area, led by General Iwane Matsui and General Prince Yasuhiko, Commander at Nanking, made a triumphal entry through the ancient Chungshan Gate. It was an impressive spectacle . . . quite out of keeping with the utter desolation of the once beautiful city. Rising-sun banners fluttered proudly over the broken walls and along the roadway. Japanese troops lined the walks. Japanese civilians within the city and throughout the world were reported celebrating the victory with lantern parades and festivals while surviving Chinese mourned their dead.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of a series of 240 True Stories of Modern Warfare. Save to get them all. Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa.

REPRINT

148

Clearing the Battlefield for Action in China

When troops move up in preparation for a battle, the path must immediately be cleared for action. No one stops to ask "Whose home is this?" when some small cottage blocks the road. Lines of communication must be kept clear, and if an advance guard of bombers has not already cleaned out any possible danger spots—often guerilla hide-outs—the infantry remedies the difficulty with a "purge by fire." The picture shows a typical scene in Southern Shantung Province during Japan's April 1938 campaign. A poor peasant woman watches while the enemy destroys her most sacred possessions. In the foreground are the desecrated remains of the family's cherished garden shrine, around which ceremonial prayers had been offered for generations. Sadly now, however, there is no time for prayers as the stage is being set for new scenes of horror.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of 240 True Stories of Modern Warfare. Save to get them all and compete for 1000 Cash Prizes. Ask your dealer. Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa. Printed in U. S. A.

REPRINT

273

Nanking Under Japanese Rule

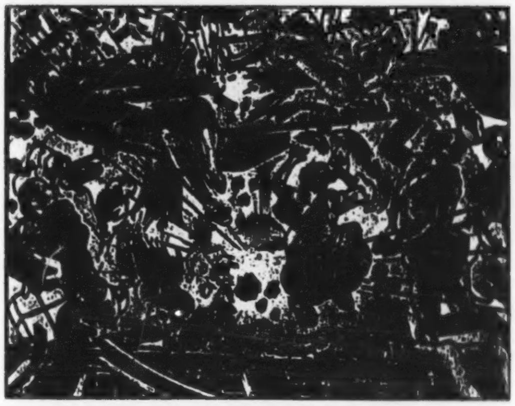
The population of Nanking before the Japanese invasion was about 1,000,000, but today it is only about 250,000 composed of the poorest class Chinese, students, intellectuals, and officials. Japanese Army and Navy men are plentiful. The great Chungshan highway that runs through Nanking is alive with speeding Japanese army trucks bearing soldiers and supplies to various points. The drivers are very reckless, and pedestrians are in danger of their lives when they venture out in the road, as the picture shows. Although there is sufficient food, other conveniences are few. There is no telephone service, streets are unlighted, and the water supply is turned off every evening. There appears to be no garbage or sewage disposal, and the dead are left where they fall. Nobody, not even a foreigner, may enter or leave the city through the gates of the wall unless accompanied by a Jap policeman.

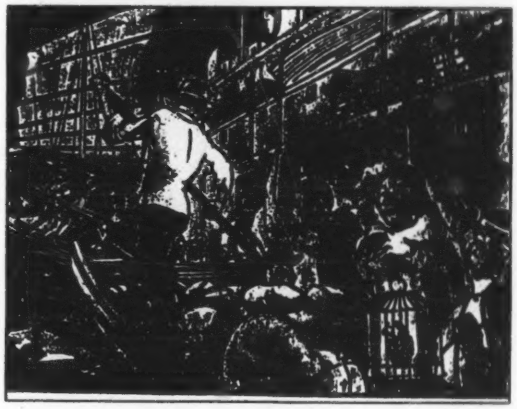
To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of the SECOND SERIES of Horrors of War picture cards and true stories of today's warfare. Save to get a complete history. Copyright 1938, Gum, Inc., Phila., Pa. Printed in U.S.A.

REPRIN

BEST COPY AVAILABLE





BEST COPY AVAILABLE

No. 28 Shanghai Shoppers Blown Up by Bombs

The city of Shanghai was just recovering from the horrible bombing which took the lives of so many at the world amusement park at an earlier date, when a new bombing shook the center of trade on August 23, 1937. Air bombs ripped into crowded downtown Shanghai department stores leaving an unforgettable picture of wholesale death and destruction in their wake! Hundreds of women and children were slaughtered. The Sincere Company store at the corner of Nanking and Chekiang crossroads was turned into a shambles. After the bombs had fallen, the air was filled with acrid smoke. As it gradually lifted it revealed numberless mangled bodies lying in great pools of blood. Faithful coolies with rickshas, waiting for their white masters and mistresses, were wiped out as they stood at their posts. Rescue workers and Boy Scouts began carrying off the dead and wounded, or hunting for the living among the littered and twisted wreckage.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of a series of 240 Picture Cards. Save to get them all. Picture and Text Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa.

REPRINT

No. 1 Marco Polo Bridge Is Scene of First Fighting

The Marco Polo Bridge, ten miles west of Peiping, had been the scene of the first fighting between Chinese and Japanese troops. A truce was made, and Japan agreed to evacuate. On July 10, 1937, however, the Chinese declared the Japs had broken their truce agreement and had moved back to the Marco Polo Bridge-Wanpinghsien district. The Japanese attacked Wanpinghsien about 5.30 P. M. When the Chinese saw them attacking, troops of the Twenty-ninth Army, which had deserted the village the day before, returned by crossing the Marco Polo Bridge. There the Chinese and Japanese met for some of the bloodiest fighting of the war. Automatic rifles were brought into action behind sandbags. Snipers got to work. The troops of the Mikado returned fire, and hand grenades exploded all around the troops at the bridge. Some met horrible deaths at the point of the bayonet or the broadsword. Meanwhile Japanese were being reinforced by the arrival of troop trains from Manchukuo.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of a series of 240 Picture Cards. Save to get them all. Picture and Text Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa.

REPRINT

No. 41 Chinese Victims of War

War has always been a cruel butcher of men, a relentless destroyer of civilization. Japan's undeclared war against China is even more horrible because it has caused the wholesale destruction of innocent families, defenseless women and children. Whole cities have been laid waste from the air, streets piled high with dead. Peaceful farms have been bombed and unsuspecting villagers slaughtered, or routed from their firesides. Without a place to live, without food, without hope . . . some carrying goods or their beloved dead as they go . . . pitiable survivors wander about the chaotic countryside, dazed and dejected. What is to become of them? What is to become of China? What is to become of the World . . . if War is not outlawed! America's noble dislike of War is largely based on ignorance of what modern War really is. Even pictures cannot show War in all its horror and ugliness. They may paint some of the carnage, some of the destruction, but they leave unrecorded the utter heartbreak of a whole people.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of a series of 240 Picture Cards. Save to get them all. Picture and Text Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa.

REPRINT

No. 31 Japanese Bombers Raid South Station

Refugees were leaving the doomed city of Shanghai as quickly as trains could carry them to points of safety. On August 28, 1937, while hundreds of terrified Chinese were huddled in Shanghai's South Station waiting to escape from the war perils all around them, two squadrons of eight Japanese bombers each, flew over the building. Without warning they let go their deadly missiles on the defenseless citizens in the station, with an alarming toll of dead and wounded. As the bombs tore through the corrugated metal roofs of the station, crowds were annihilated and buried in the wreckage. Tiny babies were separated from their mothers and horribly mutilated or killed outright. Parts of bodies were blown into the air and onto the tracks. One young baby was not killed despite death all around him, but when discovered, sometime afterward, proved to be badly injured. He was given first-aid treatment by a Chinese Boy Scout. Three weeks later the governments of the United States, Britain and France sent a note of protest to the Japanese government against the bombing of civilian populations.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of a series of 240 Picture Cards. Save to get them all. Picture and Text Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa.

REPRINT

---

55 Nanking's Week of Horror

Horrors beyond human imagination took place in China's captured capital of Nanking between December 10 and 18, 1937. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, despite expert advices, had left some of his best troops to make a last stand inside the city. Their intent was to commit suicide at the highest possible cost to Japanese lives! This resistance was in direct defiance to Tokio's General Matsui's ultimatum, dropped from the sky, "to yield, or the city would become the scene of the horrors of war!" It did. When the walls were breached some of the dismayed Chinese soldiers stripped to their underclothes and ran around looking for civilian clothes to disguise themselves! In the terrible confusion Japanese shot down everyone seen running or caught in a dark alley. Soldiers and civilians were tied in groups of fifty and executed in cold blood! Bodies lined the streets. Some of the Japs organized looting squads, and foraged for food in the deserted shops.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of a series of 240 True Stories of Modern Warfare. Save to get them all. Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa.

REPRINT

---

49 Fugitives from the War Zones

The early months of the Chinese-Japanese war saw millions of Chinese citizens running away from the scene of horror. Their new patriotism had led them to quit their homes in the path of the advancing Japanese Army . . . leaving an abandoned, non-productive territory to greet the enemy troops. A Chinese refugee tries to save at least a pot, a quilt, and a bird cage. They are fond of their feathered pets, and if bad comes to worse they can eat them! Desertion of civilian homes, plus the army policy of destroying everything possible as they fall back, results in complete desolation of the areas occupied by the Japanese. Here we see fugitives leaving Nanking by river boat. Many more have departed by train, and the poorer classes go on foot. Already droves of starving men and women are beginning to overrun the country. What food they can grow from seed supplied by Japan will not be enough to feed them and the Japanese Army of occupation.

To know the HORRORS OF WAR is to want PEACE

This is one of a series of 240 True Stories of Modern Warfare. Save to get them all. Copyright 1938, GUM, INC., Phila., Pa.

REPRINT

BEST COPY AVAILABLE